Katherine Mansfield and periodical culture

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Abstract

This research project charts Katherine Mansfield's relation to periodical print culture, examining her contributions to the political weekly *The New Age*, the avant-garde little magazine *Rhythm*, and the literary journal *The Athenaeum*. Informed by recent developments in the field of 'modern periodical studies', the project situates Mansfield's writings within the original historical contexts of publication, analysing her periodical contributions in conversation with those made by contemporaries such as Beatrice Hastings, T. E. Hulme, D. H. Lawrence, and Virginia Woolf. Moreover, the thesis accounts for the critical consensus that formed about Mansfield after her death, assessing how her reputation was mediated within *The Adelphi*. This project is based upon original archival research, providing the first critical examination of a recently discovered short story and collection of aphorisms by Mansfield. The thesis argues that the discipline of 'modern periodical studies' can extend our understanding of Mansfield's work beyond the limitations of biographical analysis, opening up new perspectives and revealing hidden connections. The case study of Mansfield also allows for an examination of the twentieth-century periodical form as a space of 'mediation': a space that helped to enact conversations and controversies, as well as enable particular negotiations of polymorphic identity and geographical liminality. In particular, the thesis examines the periodical form as a space in which Mansfield negotiated the ambiguities of her colonial identity, positioning her writing between the global periphery and metropolitan centre. In this way, the thesis integrates ideas of the recent 'transnational turn' in modernist studies into the field of periodical scholarship.

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Abbreviations

Fictions	*The Collected Fiction of Katherine Mansfield*, ed. by Gerri Kimber and Vincent O'Sullivan, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012)
Journal	*Journal of Katherine Mansfield: Definitive Edition*, ed. by John Middleton Murry (London: Constable, 1954)
Letters	*The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, ed. by Vincent O'Sullivan and Margaret Scott, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984-2008)
Notebooks	*The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks, Complete Edition*, ed. by Margaret Scott, 2 vols. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002)
Writings	*The Poetry and Critical Writings of Katherine Mansfield*, ed. by Gerri Kimber and Angela Smith (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014)

Notes on the text and referencing

Most references to writings by Katherine Mansfield in this thesis use the abbreviations listed on the previous page. When a number is given in parenthesis before the reference, this indicates information about its original publication that can be located in the list of Mansfield's contributions to periodicals and magazines provided in Appendix I. All quotations from Mansfield's letters and journals retain grammatical errors found in the originals, such as missing apostrophes or words that aren't capitalised.

In the interests of consistency, where the definite article is italicised on the title page of a periodical or magazine (*The New Age*), this italicisation is retained in the body of the text. In references, however, the definite article is dropped (*New Age*). Primary material from periodicals and magazines is not listed in the bibliography.

The visual aspects of periodical culture are integral to sections of analysis in this thesis. All images and illustrations, identified in the body of the text with a figure number, can be found at the end of the thesis in Appendix V.

Sections from this thesis have been published in the journal *Katherine Mansfield Studies*: parts of analysis in Chapters 1 and 4 appear in the special issue on 'Katherine Mansfield and the (Post)colonial' (2013); and a version of the section on 'parodic translation' in Chapter 2 has been published in a special issue on 'Katherine Mansfield and Translation' (2015). Further details of publication can be found in the bibliography to this thesis.

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Introduction

‘the famous New Zealand Mag.-story writer’

In the summer of 1921, Katherine Mansfield composed a short autobiographical sketch in one of her notebooks, probably in answer to a request from a literary magazine. She wrote:

> My literary career began with short-story writing in New Zealand. I was nine years old when my first attempt was published. I have been filling notebooks ever since. After I came to London I worked for some time for *The New Age*, and published *In a German Pension* in 1912 [sic]. It was a bad book, but the press was kind to it. Later, I worked with my present husband, Mr. John Middleton Murry, editor of *The Athenaeum*, but at that time editor of *Rhythm* and *The Blue Review*. In the past two years I have reviewed novels for *The Athenaeum*, and I have written more short stories.[1]

This journal entry provides a striking illustration of how Mansfield presented her credentials to others and assessed her reputation as a writer before the publication in 1922 of her most successful short story collection, *The Garden Party and Other Stories*. Mansfield’s first collection was published in December 1911, and it was another nine years before her next book appeared, *Bliss and Other Stories*. In 1921, then, Mansfield was beginning to enjoy greater recognition as a short story writer, but it was still predominantly as a contributor to

[1] *Journal*, p. 252.

magazines and periodicals on which her reputation hinged. With *The Garden Party* already in circulation, for example, Wyndham Lewis could still describe Mansfield in that touchstone year of literary modernism, 1922, as 'the famous New Zealand Mag.-story writer'.[2] Referring to the contributions that Mansfield was then making to mass-market illustrated magazines such as *The Sphere*, Lewis certainly did not mean this as a compliment; however, his comment highlights the extent to which Mansfield was perceived in her lifetime as a writer at home working for magazines and periodicals, and this perception has held firm in subsequent criticism. In her 2011 study of modernist short fiction by women, for instance, Claire Drewery made the following observation: 'As Mansfield was primarily a critic and a writer of short stories, it was the periodicals market that enabled her career to flourish'.[3] Not only has Mansfield's role as a critic received almost no academic attention, however, but her relation to periodical print culture more widely also remains significantly under-examined. In the face of this surprising lacuna, this thesis examines the contributions Mansfield made to periodicals and magazines between the years 1910 and 1920.

A notable exception to this gap in Mansfield scholarship is Jenny McDonnell's *Katherine Mansfield and the Modernist Marketplace: At the Mercy of the Public*, published in 2010. McDonnell argues that Mansfield positioned her writing across 'popular' and 'literary' markets, cultivating an author-image that fostered particular audiences for her work. Whilst this is a welcome addition to the field, McDonnell's focus is the publishing 'marketplace' widely conceived, and she draws little distinction between the limitations and liberties presented to Mansfield through book publication, on the one hand, and periodical publication on the other. Furthermore, McDonnell's study provides only the most cursory contextualisation of each magazine and periodical that is considered. The result is that the

[2] Wyndham Lewis (c. 20 September 1922), quoted in Antony Alpers, *The Life of Katherine Mansfield*, revised edition (London: Jonathan Cape, 1980), p. 372.
[3] Claire Drewery, *Modernist Short Fiction by Women: The Liminal in Katherine Mansfield, Dorothy Richardson, May Sinclair and Virginia Woolf* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 6.

writings of key contemporaries of Mansfield, such as Beatrice Hastings, are discussed only in passing. Mansfield scholarship has long suffered under this kind of 'biographical' mode of writing, which privileges analysis of Mansfield's work in light of the 'life' rather than the wider contexts of production. Certainly, Mansfield's dramatic biography lends itself to retelling – her self-imposed exile from New Zealand, her sexual misadventures, her tuberculosis and tragic death – and her writings meditate on themes and emotional states that were central to her own life, such as the patterns of childhood, illness, and the dislocations of travel. Yet Mansfield was also a writer who self-consciously cultivated her craft, who borrowed from others, and who owed much to the literary networks that surrounded her. To position the periodicals and magazines in which Mansfield published as subordinate or tangential to the biographical narrative of her individual progression, as McDonnell does, is to impose a limited frame of reference that risks overlooking how these contributions sit within wider publication contexts and exist in dialogue or conflict with the work of others. Instead, this thesis provides rigorous contextualisation of Mansfield's contributions to periodicals and magazines, arguing that periodical publication offered Mansfield a *unique space* in which to position her writing within or against specific discourses and cultural formations. Examining the play of identities that Mansfield creates within these discursive contexts, there is undoubtedly an element of 'life-writing' analysis to this thesis. Indeed, the chronological structure of this project underscores a new iteration of Mansfield's biography. Rather than viewing Mansfield's life and work in isolation, however, this thesis reorients our focus towards considering how her writing methods and literary preoccupations were shaped by the work of others and how her development as a writer was intrinsically conditioned by the political, aesthetic, and social contexts of periodical culture.

The explosion of interest in the field of 'modern periodical studies' over recent years informs this approach to Mansfield's work. Whilst the study of print culture has flourished in

Victorian studies for a number of decades (the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals, for instance, was established in 1968), modernist studies has been slower to embrace the examination of periodicals and magazines. This is attributable to a number of disciplinary reasons, chief among them the fact that New Criticism sought to divorce the modernist aesthetic object from its historical context. Over the last two decades, however, revisionist work seeking to provide 'richer, thicker' historical contextualisations of modernism have been assisted by major digitisation initiatives, such as the Modernist Journals Project, the Blue Mountain Project, and the Modernist Magazines Project, which have made a wealth of material readily accessible to scholars of the modernist period, stimulating wide-ranging analyses of early twentieth-century print culture.[4] In 2006, Sean Latham and Robert Scholes traced the emergence of this field in an article titled 'The Rise of Periodical Studies'. In this article, Latham and Scholes argued that periodicals are 'rich, dialogic texts' that present many voices and multiple perspectives, revealing the complex networks of modernism.[5] Other scholars, such as Ann Ardis, have also emphasised this idea that periodicals can reveal cultural conflicts and 'Bakhtinian dialogics in the public sphere'.[6] In her single-author study of Virginia Woolf's journalistic writings, for example, Leila Brosnan employs Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of 'dialogism' in order to trace the 'mutually interactive and constitutive relationship[s]' fostered by print, both 'at the level of the word' and 'at the level of languages as discourse within a larger cultural, historical, literary and linguistic framework': periodical publication, Brosnan argues, is a 'process in which "there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others"'.[7] Examining the 'dialogics' of print therefore enables us to trace interactions between individuals, as well as the ways in

[4] Ann L. Ardis, *Modernism and Cultural Conflict, 1880-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 13.
[5] Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, 'The Changing Profession: The Rise of Periodical Studies' in *PMLA*, 121.2 (March 2006), p. 528.
[6] Ardis, 'The Dialogics of Modernism(s) in *The New Age*' in *Modernism/Modernity*, 14.3 (Sept. 2007), p. 409.
[7] Leila Brosnan, *Reading Virginia Woolf's Essays and Journalism: Breaking the Surface of Silence* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 11-12.

which contributions responded to and shaped larger social and cultural contexts. In line with this idea of dialogic exchange, Suzanne Churchill and Adam McKible have proposed 'a conversational model for modernism' when analysing periodicals and magazines: these publications, they write, 'provide loci of identification and difference, allowing us to recover lines of connection, influence, conflict, and resistance that entangle the many strands of modernism'.[8] Similarly, in their general introduction to *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker observe that examining periodicals and magazines helps to expose 'the dialogic matrix of modernism'.[9] Returning to the original sites of publication therefore enables us to situate Mansfield's writings either in conversation or conflict with the work of others; it allows us to properly position her writings within the 'dialogic matrix' of modernist identification and difference.

If the lens of 'modern periodical studies' opens up new perspectives on Mansfield, then the single-author case study of this thesis also provides an opportunity for developing the terms in which we might approach and analyse periodicals. As Scholes and Latham argue, it is necessary 'to insist on the autonomy and distinctiveness of periodicals as cultural objects' whilst also 'attempting to develop the language and tools necessary to examine, describe, and contextualize them'.[10] Throughout this thesis, I look to integrate ideas of the 'spatial turn' across literary studies into my analysis of periodical culture. In 2008, Douglas Mao and Rebecca Walkowitz identified three categories of 'temporal', 'spatial', and 'vertical' expansion that had characterised modernist studies over the previous decade.[11] The renewed focus on periodicals is largely responsible for the 'vertical' expansion in this schema: due to scholarship in this field, once quite sharp boundaries between 'high' art and

[8] Suzanne W. Churchill and Adam McKible, 'Introduction' in *Little Magazines and Modernism: New Approaches*, ed. by Churchill and McKible (Aldershote: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 12; 4.
[9] Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, 'General Introduction' in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Volume I: Britain and Ireland, 1880-1955*, ed. by Brooker and Thacker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 3.
[10] Latham and Scholes, pp. 519-20.
[11] Douglas Mao and Rebecca L. Walkowitz, 'The New Modernist Studies' in *PMLA*, 123.3 (May 2008), 737-48.

popular forms of mass culture have been shown as in fact highly entangled, and once quite stable canons have been critiqued, reconfigured, and extended to include other voices and previously marginalised social groups. As the tripartite divisions in Mao and Walkowitz's article might suggest, however, modern periodical studies has remained largely segregated from developments and formulations of the 'spatial turn'. Overwhelmingly, exceptions to this rule have been limited to referencing the external, quantifiable factors of a magazine's 'internationalism', such as the presence of foreign correspondents or editors, an international distribution, or a contributor list comprised of authors and artists originating from different countries. In contrast, this thesis will examine how the *internal dialogics* of each publication either construct or dissipate notions of national and global space; it will examine how the content of each magazine and the internal juxtapositions between contributions constitute or disrupt geographical imaginaries. In this way, this thesis meets the challenge posed by Patrick Collier, that we must look to establish 'substantive connections between two currently separate and non-communicative – not to say hostile – enterprises in contemporary modernist criticism: on one hand work that focuses on global modernisms, transnational exchange, and modernism's imbrication with empire'; on the other, work that analyses 'print culture and new media rhetorics'.[12] Eric White's recent study *Transatlantic Avant-Gardes: Little Magazines and Localist Modernism* (2013) goes some way to establishing such connections, examining intersections between the 'physical loci of geographic places, the temporal flux of cultural spaces and the textual locus of the printed page'.[13] Together with the collection of essays edited by Ardis and Collier titled *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880-1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms* (2008), however, White's study highlights an entrenched bias within the academy towards the canon of Anglo-American modernism, reducing the

[12] Patrick Collier, 'Imperial/Modernist Forms in the *Illustrated London News*' in *Modernism/Modernity*, 19.3 (Sept. 2012), pp. 487-8.
[13] Eric B. White, *Transatlantic Avant-Gardes: Little Magazines and Localist Modernism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p. 2.

'transnational' to the 'transatlantic'. In contrast, the case study of Mansfield, a New Zealand writer who made her name publishing in the London periodicals market, allows us to trace a rather different convergence between the material, textual space of the periodical form and global space: one that negotiates sameness and difference between the colonial periphery and the metropolitan centre of empire.

The field of Victorian periodical studies offers some interesting models by which modern periodical studies might begin to think about these intersections between print culture and spatial imaginaries. In one of the foundational texts of Victorian periodical studies, for instance, Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff observed that the press provided the context within which people derived their 'sense of the outside world'.[14] This observation has led others to examine the ways in which the material spaces of the periodical press structured perceptions of geographical real-world space, becoming major sites for the production and re-production of national identities and ideologies of empire.[15] As Julie Codell has argued, for example, periodicals 'reshaped the imagined, the virtual, the geopolitical, and perhaps even the physical geographies between Britain and the colonies'.[16] In his examination of *The Illustrated London News*, likewise, Collier has focused on the optics of Victorian periodical culture. Highlighting how *The Illustrated London News* replicated the imperialist gaze by presenting a commanding view of other lands and subject peoples (Figure 2), Collier argues that the Victorian periodical press placed 'the reader imaginatively at the center of a set of overlapping spatial arrays of power' and provided 'the reader with "imaginary mobility"

[14] Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff, 'Introduction' in *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, ed. by Shattock and Wolff (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), p. xv.
[15] See Peter Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page: Representing the Nation in the* Illustrated London News (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Paula Krebs, *Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire: Public Discourse and the Boer War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Julie F. Codell (ed.), *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British Colonial Press* (London: Associated University Press, 2003); Simon J. Potter, *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Linda E. Connors and Mary Lou MacDonald, *National Identity in Great Britain and British North America, 1815-1851: The Role of Nineteenth-Century Periodicals* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011)
[16] Codell, 'Introduction' in *Imperial Co-Histories*, p. 18.

through these spaces': the periodical form thus 'constitutes a reliable, predictable space for the reader to navigate from week to week, [its] orderly presentation a compensation for and a framing of a disorderly world'.[17] Collier suggests that the logic of nineteenth-century periodicals was therefore 'metonymic and microcosmic: they shrink the world, on a daily or weekly basis'.[18] A representative example of this metonymic logic is W. T. Stead's *The Review of Reviews* (Figure 3), established in 1890 and published across three continents. Together with the prominent image of the globe that featured on every issue, Stead's periodical also included a running commentary on world events, titled 'The Progress of the World': the periodical thus metonymically makes the 'world' legible, containable, knowable.

This metonymic logic is not limited to the nineteenth-century periodical press. Illustrative examples from the twentieth century include a map published in a supplement to *The New Age* in 1910, highlighting the journal's international distribution (Figure 4), and an image of the globe printed in *Story* magazine in 1932, indicating the incredibly complex network of the magazine's contributors (Figure 5). In each case, the external factors of the magazine's internationalism (distribution or contribution) become illustrative of a metonymic link between the textual space of the periodical and global space: each magazine connects people and places across vast geographical distances, with each thereby creating their own imagined 'world'. In this way, both illustrations provoke us to interrogate the extent to which twentieth-century magazines functioned as ways of looking on the world. Furthermore, 'The "New Age" World' map suggests that the spatial imaginary promoted by the periodical was integrated into larger projects of nation- and empire-building. The prominent female figure of Britannia, the larger black dot around Britain, and the emphasis on naval domination are all visual tropes of imperialist mapping that connect 'The "New Age" World' with the British Empire. This implicit connection is foregrounded in A. R. Orage's very first editorial for the

[17] Collier, 'Imperial/Modernist Forms in the *Illustrated London News*', pp. 493-4.
[18] Ibid. 492.

periodical, in which he writes that 'the task implicitly before us all, is nothing less than the creation of a British Empire'.[19] Originally founded as a Christian weekly, *The New Age* was re-launched under Orage's editorship in 1907 in order to advance socialist principles; the first editorial thus advocates the foundation of 'a Socialist Federation – a Socialist Empire'.[20] In the issue of the periodical in which 'The "New Age" World' illustration was printed in 1910, moreover, Orage writes in his opening 'Notes of the Week' that 'England has always led the constitutional way [and that this] entitles her to ignore the belated and, as it were, consequential experience of other countries' that 'may be inclined to follow'.[21] Affirming a spatial-temporal logic that posits the centre of empire as the crucible of progress, the editor of *The New Age* therefore happily accepts that 'we are English nationalists of an even bigoted order'.[22] These editorial comments and 'The "New Age" World' illustration appeared in the second issue of the periodical containing contributions by Mansfield, which prompts us to question: how does Mansfield's position as a writer from one of those 'other countries' at the peripheries of 'The "New Age" World' shape her contributions to the periodical? How does Mansfield's eccentricity from the imagined 'we' of English nationhood and her experience at the edge of empire condition her writing? And to what extent did these spatial dynamics shape her wider engagement and involvement with metropolitan periodical culture?

These examples from *The New Age* gesture towards the fact that early twentieth-century periodicals and magazines often promoted ideas of national identification. In his seminal study *Imagined Communities*, first published in 1983, Benedict Anderson argues that the 'imagined community' of a national culture develops through the 'homogeneous empty time' of modernity and progress: his thesis is that the proliferation of print media after the Reformation, such as daily newspapers and journals, created a temporality of seriality and

[19] [A. R. Orage] 'The Outlook' in *New Age*, 1.1 (May 2, 1907), p. 1.
[20] Ibid.
[21] [Orage] 'Notes of the Week' in *New Age*, 6.18 (March 3, 1910), p. 411.
[22] Ibid.

periodicity, 'the steady onward clocking' of calendrical time, which conferred a sociological solidity upon the imagined world of the nation; print media linked together members of a national community who may not necessarily have known one another but nevertheless became aware of their experiential synchronicity.[23] The imagined collective 'we' of *The New Age* ('we are English nationalists') is indicative of this trend, with the regular 'Notes of the Week' generating a sense of national identification between contributors to the periodical and its readers that is sustained over time, week by week. Indeed, whilst Anderson's focus is primarily the periodicity of daily newspapers and journals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the weekly, monthly and quarterly publication of periodicals and magazines in the early twentieth century encodes a similar temporality of repetition and seriality. In this thesis, however, I argue that the dialogism of periodical print culture necessarily challenges the notion of bounded consensus implied in Anderson's theory of 'community'. Instead, writers such as Mansfield point to moments of rupture, tension and conflict, disrupting the metonymic logic and spatial vocabulary of the publications to which they contributed.

To advance this argument, this thesis builds upon theoretical ideas of 'disjuncture' and 'difference' formulated within postcolonial and transnational literary studies. These ideas are informed by Bakhtin's concept of 'dialogism'. Throughout his work, Bakhtin proposed that language is not monologic but is essentially social, dialogic, and mixed: articulating a social relationship, every enunciation is hybrid and contains the relativisation of different voices, languages, and social discourses. In *The Location of Culture* (1994), Homi Bhabha adopts this concept of 'the enunciative subject of heteroglossia and dialogism' in order to critique the notion of the 'imagined community'.[24] Following Bakhtin's formulation, Bhabha argues that the 'pact of interpretation is never simply an act of communication between the I

[23] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (London; New York: Verso, 2006), p. 33.
[24] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 269.

and the You designated in the statement. The production of meaning requires that these two places be mobilized in the passage through a Third Space':

> The intervention of the Third Space of enunciation, which makes the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process, destroys [the] mirror of representation in which cultural knowledge is customarily revealed as an integrated, open, expanding code. Such an intervention quite properly challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by the originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People. In other words, the disruptive temporality of enunciation displaces the narrative of the Western nation which Benedict Anderson so perceptively describes as being written in homogeneous, serial time.[25]

In contrast to the notion of bounded consensus, Bhabha instead emphasises the 'borderline engagements of cultural difference' and the disruptive, disjunctive, discontinuous presences that re-inscribe 'the social imaginary of both metropolis and modernity'.[26] Focusing on the relation between coloniser and colonised, he argues that dialogic '[c]ounter-narratives of the nation […] continually evoke and erase its totalizing boundaries – both actual and conceptual – [and] disturb those ideological manoeuvres through which "imagined communities" are given essentialist identities'.[27] As such, Bhabha emphasises culture's inherent 'hybridity'.[28]

Similarly, Arjun Appadurai argues that the idea of the 'imagined community' becomes unsustainable in the increasingly globalised world of the twentieth century. Extending Anderson's concept, Appadurai instead postulates the existence of 'imagined worlds' that can overlap and come into conflict; this theory of global disjuncture and difference draws attention to those who 'are able to contest and sometimes even subvert the

[25] Ibid. 53-4.
[26] Ibid. 3; 9.
[27] Ibid. 213.
[28] Ibid. 56.

"imagined worlds" of the official mind'.[29] These 'imagined worlds' are both constituted and contested, Appadurai argues, in the convergence of different 'scapes' of global cultural flow. The concept of 'mediascapes', for example, refers not only to the distribution and circulation of media in the world, but also 'to the images of the world created by these media'.[30] Arguing that these 'mediascapes' intersect with fantasies of movement created by a 'shifting world' of tourists, immigrants, refugees, and exiles, Appadurai writes that the twentieth-century media provided 'large and complex repertoires of images, narratives and "ethnoscapes"' through which individuals could form 'imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places'.[31] This concept of 'mediascapes' is particularly suggestive for my analysis of print media in the early twentieth century, highlighting the dialogic negotiations between 'self' and 'other' facilitated by the mediating space of publication.

As John Guillory has observed, 'it is a puzzling fact that the concept of mediation remains undertheorized in the study of culture and only tenuously integrated into the study of media'.[32] In the first instance, of course, the concept of 'mediation' implies a negotiation between different voices and conflicting positions; as Guillory writes, the 'most common use of the term *mediation* today' is in its application to 'conflict resolution' and the arbitration between two persons or two opposing viewpoints.[33] Well into the twentieth century, however, 'the *mediation* concept was most useful in constructing a picture of the mind in its relation to the world': 'mediation belongs to a dialectic of relations, by which concepts such as subject and object, or mind and world, are assigned roles in a system'.[34] With both writers critiquing and extending Anderson's idea of the 'imagined communities' fostered by print, the theories of 'difference' and dialogism advanced by Bhabha and Appadurai prompt us to pay greater

[29] Arjun Appadurai, 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy' in *Theory & Society*, 7 (1990), pp. 296-7.
[30] Ibid. 299.
[31] Ibid.
[32] John Guillory, 'Genesis of the Media Concept' in *Critical Inquiry*, 36 (Winter 2010), p. 354.
[33] Ibid. 341.
[34] Ibid. 342-3.

attention to this concept of 'mediation' in our analysis of print media. As Bhabha observes, for instance, 'the theoretical recognition of the split-space of enunciation' points to the fact that 'it is the "inter" – the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the *inbetween* space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture'.[35] In other words, it is the *mediating* space in which social imaginaries are both constituted and contested.

In developing these ideas, this thesis builds upon a resurgence of interest across literary studies in recent years in the idea of the 'liminal' and its cognate labels of the 'interstitial' and the 'in-between'. As Janet Wilson and Daria Tunca explain, 'recent critiques and definitions' of the 'liminal' and interrelated concepts, such as the 'threshold' and 'middle ground', 'aim to deconstruct binaries, examine the liminal as a performative space' and 'move away from the resisting strategies and counter-discourses associated with the earlier paradigm of "writing back to empire"':

> They identify instead a more hybridized art, one that exhibits the porous thresholds of intercultural contact and transnational travel, and that appropriates multiple culture heritages through cross-cultural rewritings, generic crossovers, spatio-temporal expansions of cultural boundaries, and renegotiations of self/other differences.[36]

Derived from *limen* (a Latin word meaning 'boundary' or 'threshold'), the concept of 'liminality' indicates the passage and movement from one space or state into another; as such, it implies transition and ambivalence within a mediating space of the 'in-between', in which the subject is neither one nor the other. In the 1960s, Victor Turner employed this concept in order to describe how the 'passenger' in threshold rites of passage undergoes a creative stripping away of identity as he or she passes out of the old world and into the new; in this theory, liminality is an uncomfortable yet essentially subversive condition. As Wilson

[35] Ibid. 56.
[36] Janet Wilson and Daria Tunca, 'Postcolonial Thresholds: Gateways and Borders' in *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 51.1 (2015), pp. 2-3.

and Tunca observe, for example, the term suggests a liberating space in which 'identities can metamorphose or be transformed and power relations negotiated; that is, the place where translation, migrancy, ambivalence and the transnational are reconfigured'.[37] In Bhabha's terms, 'a contentious *internal* liminality' provides a 'place from which to speak both of, and as, the minority, the exilic, the marginal and the emergent'.[38] Unlike the concept of 'marginality' (which suggests a closed binary system in which the 'peripheral' or 'minor' will always exist at the edges of the social structure), moreover, 'liminality' implies crossover and transgression. As such, the spatial concepts of the 'liminal' and 'in-between' have provided a useful vocabulary through which critics in postcolonial and transnational literary studies have looked to move beyond the rigid centre-periphery binary. Furthermore, the concept has also gained increasing currency in generic analyses of the short story form, especially in examinations of Mansfield's writings.[39] What has not been interrogated, however, is the way in which Mansfield consciously positioned her work within the material, mediating, liminal spaces of periodical culture.

This thesis argues that the early twentieth-century periodical form provided a mediating space in which it was possible for writers to re-inscribe forms of authorial identity and to disrupt patterns of cultural and political consensus. In Mansfield's case, by evoking 'other' places throughout her contributions to metropolitan periodicals and magazines, such as Europe and the 'new world' of the colonial periphery, her writings enact moments of intercultural contact and transnational exchange that undermine the idea of an homogenous and integrated 'imagined community' of the nation or gesture towards other 'imagined

[37] Ibid. 1.
[38] Bhabha, p. 214.
[39] See Angela Smith, *Katherine Mansfield and Virginia Woolf: A Public of Two* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) and *Katherine Mansfield: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000); William Atkinson, 'Mrs Sheridan's Masterstroke: Liminality in Katherine Mansfield's Representations of Places' in *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature*, 87.1 (Feb. 2006), 53-61; Drewery (2011); Jochen Achilles and Ina Bergmann (ed.), *Liminality and the Short Story: Boundary Crossings in American, Canadian, and British Writing* (New York; London: Routledge, 2015)

worlds'. This negotiation of geographical liminality throughout Mansfield's periodical contributions created a performative space of transgression, in which she was able to play with a number of different authorial identities, formulate political and social critiques of gender and class, disrupt ideas of nationhood and empire, and gesture towards new, emergent models of literary modernism. To illustrate this notion of the twentieth-century periodical form as a mediating space of dialogic negotiation and geographical liminality, I now turn attention to Mansfield's earliest writings and her first professional magazine contributions.

The name 'Katherine Mansfield' was a pseudonym, first used in print in the autumn of 1907. Mansfield was born Kathleen Beauchamp in Wellington, New Zealand, on 14 October 1888, the third child in a prosperous middle-class colonial family. As her biographer Antony Alpers has suggested, the geography of Mansfield's birth was significant. Born at the family home on Tinakori Road, a street that 'runs down a great crack in the land, a geological fault of vast extent', Mansfield was quite literally 'born on a fault line'.[40] Situated on a towering hill that looked down onto the wharves and ships of Wellington below, the home on Tinakori Road also provided a vista of an expansive sea that offered 'a constant invitation to departure' and echo of other lands.[41] Throughout her life, this early impression of the sea as a space of transition and the awareness of a felt geographical disjuncture and displacement dominated Mansfield's imaginative repertoire. Indeed, Kathleen Beauchamp experienced a typical colonial upbringing, taught in her Wellington school to regard England, the centre of empire, as 'home' and New Zealand as 'out here'. When she was sent at the age of fourteen to finish her schooling at Queen's College in London, then, Kathleen was a girl doubly

[40] Alpers, p. 4.
[41] Ibid.

expatriated. It was here, at 'home' in England, that Mansfield first became aware of her outsider, peripheral status as a colonial: the 'little savage from New Zealand'.[42]

Whilst in New Zealand, Kathleen had contributed to the school magazine, the *High School Reporter*, making her first contribution at the age of nine with a short composition titled 'Enna Blake' that appeared with the following footnote by a sixth-former: 'This story, written by one of the girls who have lately entered the school, shows promise of great merit'.[43] 'Enna Blake' depicts a 'ferning' trip to Torquay.[44] This detail, as Angela Smith has observed, opens a 'gap between the metropolitan and colonial cultures': 'little girls in Torquay go primrosing or blackberrying, not ferning'.[45] In her first magazine contribution, then, Kathleen attempts to imagine life in England, but this attempt is undermined by her distance and disassociation from that 'home': the English countryside can only be imagined through the features of the colonial landscape of Kathleen's birth and upbringing.

On her arrival in London, Kathleen also lost no time in contributing to the school magazine. Three of the five contributions that she made to the *Queen's College Magazine* are naive stories about childhood; regarding these, Kathleen rather pretentiously wrote to a friend that '[s]ome people seem to like those "baby" stories, and I love writing them'.[46] The other two stories, however, demonstrate rather different preoccupations and creative impulses. In her last contribution to the magazine, made in December 1905, for example, Kathleen found her voice writing about her childhood in New Zealand. 'About Pat' therefore represents the first time Mansfield used the magazine form as a way of positioning her work between the location of composition and another, remembered, faraway place across the globe. Similarly, 'Die Einsame' signifies a more mature approach to her writing and exhibits much darker

[42] *Journal*, p. 105.
[43] Quoted in Alpers, p. 14.
[44] (1) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 3.
[45] Smith, *Katherine Mansfield*, p. 1.
[46] *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 15.

themes than in the naive 'baby' stories. The sketch is a portrait of a girl who lives alone on the top of a solitary hill and walks by the sea at night: 'She tried at first to keep away, but something impelled her, pushed her, almost carried her'.[47] In this sketch, Kathleen evokes the sea not only as a liberating space of transition and transgression, a liminal space between different lands, but also as a space of fear and ambivalence, a borderline state between life and death, speech and silence. 'Die Einsame' ends with the girl walking out into the sea to meet a figure on a boat who personifies Death; as she struggles to reach this figure, the boat disappears: 'Then a great wave came, and there was silence'.[48] Significantly, the death-wish theme of this story also highlights Kathleen's increasing enthusiasm for the works of *fin de siècle* writers at this time, such as Walter Pater, Arthur Symons, and, above all, Oscar Wilde.

At Queen's College in 1906, Kathleen's friend Vere Bartrick-Baker lent her a copy of the general interest periodical *Lippincott's*, in which Wilde's novella *The Picture of Dorian Gray* had been published in its entirety in July 1890.[49] Passed between the girls like contraband, the periodical itself clearly figured a transgressive act: reading the periodical promised access to the scandal and controversy still attached to Wilde's name following the obscenity trails of 1895. To an astute reader like Kathleen, moreover, this early engagement with periodical print culture would have highlighted the 'dialogics' and intertextuality of the periodical form. As Elizabeth Lorang has examined, articles published in this issue of *Lippincott's* on the occult, morality, science, and art all spoke to themes in Wilde's novella.[50] In particular, the publication of an article titled 'The Indissolubility of Marriage' established a clear and 'intentional dialogue' with the views expressed in *Dorian Gray*: ideas professed by Lord Henry in a number of epigrams throughout the novella disrupt the 'normative' and

[47] (4) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 21.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Alpers, p. 35.
[50] Elizabeth Lorang, '*The Picture of Dorian Gray* in Context: Intertextuality and *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*' in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 43.1 (Spring 2010), 19-41.

'middle-class' views about marriage and morality found in this article, creating a deliberate 'disconnection' between different parts of the magazine issue that was designed to stimulate controversy and provoke debate.[51]

For Kathleen, reading *Dorian Gray* in its original publication context was certainly a stimulating experience. Throughout 1906 and 1907, she filled her notebooks with quotations from Wilde, which she then interspersed with her own aphorisms. These quotations include several from *Dorian Gray*, such as: 'Being natural is simply a pose – and the most irritating pose I know'.[52] Significantly, reading the writers of the *fin de siècle* taught Kathleen to make a distinction between the 'outer life' (the 'pose') and her own 'inner life'. After almost a year of being back in Wellington, having made the long journey from England at the end of October 1906, aged eighteen, for example, she wrote to the musician Arnold Trowell in London: 'all through the day, while my outer life is going on steadily, monotonously, even drearily, my inner life I live with you, in leaps and bounds'; the 'outer life is but a phantom life – a world of intangible, meaningless grey shadow', whereas the 'inner life pulsates with sunshine and music and happiness'.[53] This distinction is inherently transgressive: with the 'inner life' lived through 'leaps and bounds' towards London, Kathleen escapes the 'outer life' drearily lived in Wellington by imaginatively traversing geographical space.

Integral to this 'inner life' was also the subversive sexuality that Kathleen associated with Wilde, whose name provided a cipher through which she could articulate feelings of homosexual desire. In June 1908, for instance, she made a journal entry about an incident with her friend Edith Bendall, exclaiming: 'O Oscar! am I peculiarly susceptible to sexual impulse? […] I think she wanted to, too; but she is afraid and custom hedges her in'.[54] In a

[51] Ibid. 31.
[52] *Journal*, p. 11.
[53] Ibid. 17.
[54] Ibid. 14.

later letter, Mansfield reflects: 'In New Zealand Wilde acted so strongly and terribly upon me that I was constantly subject to exactly the same fits of madness as those which caused his ruin and his mental decay'.[55] Indeed, as well as evoking the dangerous borderline states of 'silence, incoherence, *madness*, and the threat of death', as Drewery observes, 'invisibility, darkness, *bisexuality* and the wilderness' are also closely associated with the idea of 'liminality' (my emphasis).[56] Identifying Wilde's 'madness' with her own 'sexual impulse', Kathleen was clearly aware of an internal liminality and ambiguity that could disrupt the apparently stable 'outer life' of social convention and 'custom'.

From Wilde's cult of the artificial, moreover, Kathleen also developed ideas about New Zealand. Writing in her journal in early 1907, for instance, she observed: 'When New Zealand is more artificial, she will give birth to an artist who can treat her natural beauties adequately. This sounds paradoxical, but is true'.[57] And to her sister, she wrote in 1908:

> I am ashamed of young New Zealand, but what is to be done. […] They want a purifying influence – a mad wave of pre-Raphaelitism, of super-aestheticism, should intoxicate the country. They must go to excess in the direction of culture, become almost decadent in their tendencies for a year or two and then find balance and proportion.[58]

These examples demonstrate how *fin de siècle* aestheticism and decadence served as metonyms for 'London' and metropolitan culture for Kathleen when she arrived back in Wellington after finishing her schooling. In particular, these artistic movements signified the socially subversive and culturally disruptive; by identifying with these movements, Kathleen not only cultivated the 'pose' of the knowing, urbane, and worldly-wise aesthete, but also began to formulate her critique of nationhood and patterns of social convention.

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[55] *Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 89-90.
[56] Drewery, p. 2.
[57] *Journal*, p. 10.
[58] *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 44.

Notably, the desire for a 'purifying influence' of 'super-aestheticism' motivated Kathleen's first professional magazine contributions, made to the Australian journal *The Native Companion* in the autumn of 1907.[59] As Jane Stafford and Mark Williams observe, 'Australia and New Zealand were virtually one market for New Zealand writers in the early 1900s, a reflection not only of the difficulties of publishing in New Zealand but also of the close ties between the two countries that developed in the 1890s'.[60] When Tom L. Mills, a journalist on the New Zealand *Evening Post*, was asked by Kathleen's father to read some of her verses and sketches, therefore, he suggested that she send these to *The Native Companion*. It was in this magazine that Kathleen adopted the pseudonym 'Mansfield' for the first time. With typical fastidiousness, she wrote to the editor: 'please do not use the name K.M. Beauchamp. I am anxious to be read only as K. Mansfield or K.M.'[61]

The Native Companion was one among a number of new literary journals to be founded in the decade following the Federation of Australia in 1901. In total, eleven issues of the Melbourne-based magazine were published between January and December 1907. In this short space of time, however, there was a clear distinction between the first and second volumes of the magazine, edited by Bertram Stevens and Edwin James Brady respectively. As Carol Mills highlights, 'Volume one of the *Native Companion* looked like a late nineteenth century literary periodical. Volume two, from August 1907, was a child of the twentieth'.[62] This shift is illustrated by the change from D. H. Souter's linear, traditional, pen-drawn cover design, with its isolated figures of a solitary bird and man reading by candlelight (Figure 6), to the more fluid, colourful, and avant-garde drawings by Ruby

[59] Mansfield received £2 for 'Vignettes' and £2.7.6 for 'In a Café' and 'In the Botanical Gardens' (from the Thomas Lothian Papers in the State Library of Victoria, quoted in Jean E. Stone, *Katherine Mansfield: Publications in Australia, 1907-09* (Sydney: Wentworth Books, 1977), p. 13).
[60] Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, 'Katherine Mansfield: A Modernist in Maoriland' in *Maoriland: New Zealand Literature 1872-1914* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2007), p. 148.
[61] *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 27.
[62] Carol Mills, quoted in Ken Gelder and Rachel Weaver, 'Literary Journals and Literary Aesthetics in Early Post-Federation Australia' in *JASAL: Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature*, 14.5 (2014), p. 3.

Lindsay (Figure 7) and Blamire Young (Figure 8), which focus on the feminine and socialised. As Ken Gelder and Rachel Weaver have examined, Brady's magazine was very 'clear about the distinctive aesthetic space [it] wanted to inhabit'.[63] This was a space of an emergent modernism, formed in direct opposition to hegemonic narratives of the nation.

The Native Companion was part of a constellation of early twentieth-century Australian magazines founded as alternatives to the established periodical *The Bulletin*, which had begun publication in January 1880. These magazines included the Sydney-based *Lone Hand* (which Mansfield also contributed to in October 1909), the South Australian magazine *Gadfly*, and other journals owned by Thomas C. Lothian, such as *Trident* and *Heart of the Rose*. These magazines, Gelder and Weaver argue, created 'alternative literary spaces not only for *Bulletin* contributors themselves, but also for a newer generation of aspiring writers (and editors) who had come to regard the *Bulletin* as limited in its range'.[64] In particular, as Mark Williams has observed, *The Bulletin* was associated with the 'outback genre' identified with the short story writer Henry Lawson and the poet 'Banjo' Paterson, among others; these writers popularised the horse and saddle school of colonial writing, with stories and verses that evoke an atmosphere of gothic naturalism and focus on the terror and isolation of life in the 'bush' for women.[65] Such writing advanced a narrative of the nation and colonial settlement that opposed the hyper-masculine, lone pioneer, responsible for taming the wild natural landscape, with the vulnerable woman confined to domestic space. Moreover, as Gelder and Weaver note, *The Bulletin* was also integrated into 'larger, nationally representative projects, an obvious example of which [was] the *Bulletin*'s slogan "Australia for the Australians" – which became "Australia for the White Man" under James

[63] Gelder and Weaver, 'Literary Journals and Literary Aesthetics in Early Post-Federation Australia', pp. 2-3.
[64] Ibid. 1.
[65] Mark Williams, 'Mansfield in Maoriland: Biculturalism, Agency and Misreading' in *Modernism and Empire*, ed. by Howard Booth and Nigel Rigby (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 258-9.

Edmond's post-Federation editorship in 1903'.[66] As such, *The Bulletin* promoted a national narrative that privileged masculinity, reinforced racial binaries, and defended the European colonisation of the Antipodes. The 'alternative literary spaces' created by the multiple smaller magazines founded in the first decade of the twentieth century, as Gelder and Weaver argue, fractured this sense of an homogeneous national narrative: 'at the moment of Federation – and following in its wake – just when the nation brings its colonies together, there is a splintering of literary activity across a number of journals that fragments, or perhaps continues to fragment, any received sense of what constitutes a national literature'.[67] Directly subverting the tropes of *The Bulletin* 'outback genre' of colonial writing, the contributions Mansfield made to *The Native Companion* in 1907 were integral to this fracturing, disjunctive process.

Mansfield's first contributions to the magazine were a collection of three short sketches, published in October 1907 under the title 'Vignettes'. As well as encouraging the publication of short lyric poetry that contrasted 'with the more robust, masculine poetry of the nationalist tradition', as Gelder and Weaver note, E. J. Brady also promoted 'a feminine aesthetic more attuned to emergent forms of literary modernism' and the 'vignette' became an important genre in the contributions to the magazine made by a group of female writers: 'stories by Mabel Forrest, Sumner Locke, Beatrix Tracy, B. Cecil Doyle and also Sydney Partridge provide brief glimpses into a character's consciousness, rendering intensely-felt emotions and embedding themselves in the particularity of their setting'.[68] In Mansfield's 'Vignettes', this setting is not Australia, and not even New Zealand, but London. Writing to Brady after she had submitted these pieces to the magazine, Mansfield observed: 'I send you some more work – practically there is nothing local […] The reason is that for the last few

[66] Gelder and Weaver, pp. 1-2.
[67] Ibid. 1.
[68] Ibid. 4.

years London has held me – very tightly indeed – and I've not yet escaped'.[69] In a journal entry made in October 1907, for instance, she exclaims: 'London! To write the word makes me feel that I could burst into tears. […] *London* – it is life'.[70] And, in a letter, she writes:

> There is nothing on earth to do [in Wellington] – nothing to see – and my heart keeps flying off – Oxford Circus – Westminster Bridge at the Whistler hour – London by hansom – my old room – the meetings of the Swans – and a corner in the Library. It haunts me all so much – and I feel it must come back soon – How people ever wish to live here I cannot think – [71]

At this time, Mansfield also became certain that her return to London was 'the only thing to be done' if she was going to be a successful writer: 'I must get back because I know I shall be successful', she wrote.[72] This idea of London as the preeminent site for making one's name was a recurring trope for colonial women writers at this time, such as Sara Jeannette Duncan, Jean Rhys, Una Marson, and Christina Stead. It is this imaginative world, of London as a place of excitement, movement, and opportunity, that the 'Vignettes' depict.

In the 'Vignettes', Mansfield imagines the twilight hour when 'London stretches out eager hands towards me, and in her eyes is the light of knowledge': this is the hour when 'Convention has long since sought her bed' and when 'nothing [shall] remain hidden'.[73] Stylistically, these vignettes clearly resemble Wilde's prose poems.[74] Under this influence, Mansfield evokes the same distinction, as before, between the 'inner life' associated with London and the 'outer life' of convention and custom. This outer life is signified by the 'monotonous' and 'dull, steady, hopeless' sound of the rain outside her window, described as

[69] *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 26.
[70] *Journal*, p. 21.
[71] *Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 20-1.
[72] Ibid. 41.
[73] (8) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 79.
[74] So much so, in fact, that Brady in his first letter to Mansfield questioned their originality. Mansfield responded by emphasising that the vignettes 'feel very much my own' (*Letters*, vol. 1, p. 26).

'the weeping face of the world'.[75] Against this outer life, the internal, domestic scene becomes a space of liminality, signified through 'silence' and 'darkness' as well as the recurring mention of the threshold spaces of the sea and doorway:

> Sometimes through the measured sound of the rain comes the long, hopeless note of a foghorn far out at sea. And then all life seems but a crying out drearily, and a groping to and fro in a foolish, aimless darkness. Sometimes – it seems like miles away – I hear the sound of a door downstairs opening and shutting.[76]

From within this liminal space, in which 'the light of knowledge' shall be revealed and 'nothing remain hidden', it is possible to recreate identity, again and again, and to articulate transgressive sexual desire. Mansfield writes: 'I listen and think and dream until my life seems not *one* life, but a thousand million lives' and recalls how '[a] year ago we sat by the fire, she and I, hand in hand, cheek to cheek […] The long night dragged coldly through, while I watched her, and thought, *and longed*, but could not sleep' (my emphasis).[77] The 'Vignettes' then close with the line: 'To-day, at the other end of the world, I have suffered, and she, doubtless, has bought herself a new hat at the February sales'.[78] Whilst the imaginative world of the 'Vignettes' is firmly set in London, then, the last line reveals that each of the sketches has been composed 'at the other end of the world': the action of the narrative, the 'inner life' of the narrator, takes place in that liminal space between.

In her next contribution to *The Native Companion*, titled 'Silhouettes' and published the following month in November 1907, Mansfield clearly highlights the location of composition by referencing the native Antipodean landscape of the 'karaka tree' and

[75] (8) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 80.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid. 80-1.
[78] Ibid. 81.

'laurestinus bush' that grow outside her window.[79] However, the piece depicts the same impulse to reveal something liminal and 'hidden' as in 'Vignettes'. Just as the object of desire in 'Vignettes' is described as having 'a string of amethysts round her white throat', for instance, the amethyst also signifies forbidden desire in 'Silhouettes':

> I, leaning out of my window, alone, peering into the gloom, am seized by a passionate desire for everything that is hidden and forbidden. I want the night to come, and kiss me with her hot mouth, and lead me through an amethyst twilight to the place of the white gardenia…[80]

Occupying a liminal space of desire between the 'inner' and 'outer life', and between London and Wellington, therefore, Mansfield's first contributions to *The Native Companion* clearly subvert the gender politics and rigid binaries of *The Bulletin*. Like the stylised covers to the second volume of *The Native Companion*, these sketches disrupt the hyper-masculine narrative of colonial settlement, instead drawing attention to deeply felt female emotions. As the quotation above highlights, these pieces also displace the notion advanced in *The Bulletin* of the native landscape as essentially 'other' and as a space to be tamed by men. The title of *The Native Companion* referred to the popular name given to the crane bird depicted on the magazine's cover, the brolga. In Mansfield's sketches, likewise, nature is a 'companion' to the female narrator: the native, night-time landscape is a space in which she can submit to 'passionate desire' and the 'hidden and forbidden'. At the same time as these vignettes articulate a desire for metropolitan assimilation, then, they also undermine and unsettle the foundational binary of colonial discourse as expressed in *The Bulletin*, between the feminised, genteel, domestic interior divorced from the wild, native, exterior landscape: leaning out of her window, the female narrator imaginatively traverses this boundary.

[79] (9) *Fictions*, vol. 1, pp. 83-4.
[80] Ibid. 84.

In December 1907, Mansfield made two final contributions to *The Native Companion*. Titled 'In a Café' and signed 'K. Mansfield', the first sketch is a portrait of a young man and woman who talk through the 'witty remarks' of *fin de siècle* epigram about 'Art, Art, Art, and youth, scarlet youth, and mortality, and life, and the Ten Deadly Conventions'.[81] The second, titled 'In the Botanical Gardens', depicts a bush landscape and is signed 'Julian Mark'. The editors of *The Collected Fiction of Katherine Mansfield* suggest that this pseudonym was used 'to disguise the fact of two contributions appearing in the one issue' (Figure 10).[82] However, it is far more likely that Mansfield adopted this male name because the story directly responds to the masculine 'outback' genre typical of *The Bulletin*. This is the first instance of Mansfield adopting another authorial identity in her magazine contributions in order to establish an intentional dialogue *across* publications, using multiple selves to challenge the conventions and tropes of an established genre or discourse. In this sketch, Mansfield emphasises the 'wilderness' as closely associated with liminality, contrasting the cultivated, colonial Botanical Gardens with the wild, silent 'bush' landscape beyond:

> I turn from the smooth swept paths, and climb up a steep track, where the knotted tree roots have seared a rude pattern in the yellow clay. And, suddenly, it disappears – all the pretty, carefully-tended surface of gravel and sward and blossom, and there is bush, silent and splendid. On the green moss, on the brown earth, a wide splashing of yellow sunlight. And, everywhere that strange, indefinable scent. As I breathe it, it seems to absorb, to become part of me – and I am old with the age of centuries, strong with the strength of savagery.[83]

Positioned on the threshold between the gardens and the bush, the narrator experiences a felt dissolution of the distinction between 'self' and 'other': 'that strange, indefinable scent' of otherness 'seems to absorb, to become part of me'. Walking down the path 'to a little stream',

[81] (10) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 86.
[82] Gerri Kimber and Vincent O'Sullivan, in *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 86.
[83] (11) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 85.

for instance, the narrator is seized by the 'inexplicable, persistent feeling […] that I must become one with it all':

> Bending down, I drink a little of the water. Oh is it magic? Shall I, looking intently, see vague forms lurking in the shadow staring at me malevolently, wildly, the thief of their birthright? Shall I, down the hillside, through the bush, ever in the shadow, see a great company moving towards me, their faces averted, wreathed with green garlands, passing, passing, following the little stream in silence until it is sucked into the wide sea…[84]

Unlike the frontier stories popularised in *The Bulletin*, which celebrate the lone male pioneer who retains the country for the 'White Man' by taming the wild landscape, the merging of 'self' and 'other' in Mansfield's story reveals the suppressed history of racial violence behind the colonial settlement of New Zealand. From mid-November to mid-December 1907, at the time when this story was published, Mansfield undertook a caravan expedition through the central territories of New Zealand's North Island. The journal that she kept during this expedition records her impressions, in which she sees hostile, ghostly presences emanating from the natural landscape: for example, 'now and again the silver tree-trunks, like a skeleton army, invade the hills' and '[v]isions of long dead Maoris [sic], of forgotten battles and vanished feuds, stirred in me'.[85] 'In the Botanical Gardens' evokes these suppressed presences: felt in the liminal space between the cultivated gardens and the wild bush, as Smith has observed, this 'great company' is a manifestation of a repressed colonial guilt regarding the theft of the Māori 'birthright'.[86] Whilst this sketch employs racial stereotypes linking the native population with 'centuries […] of savagery', therefore, its recognition of a repressed otherness behind the cultivated façade of the modern nation offers a radical critique of the history of settlement, gesturing towards the injustice and violent past of colonisation.

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[84] Ibid.
[85] *Journal*, pp. 23-4.
[86] Smith, *Katherine Mansfield*, p. 25.

Mansfield's first professional magazine contributions therefore clearly articulate her desire for metropolitan assimilation from 'at the other end of the world' and signal the development at the beginning of the twentieth century of a nascent literary modernism in New Zealand and Australia that was rooted in (and routed towards) the *fin de siècle* aestheticism associated with London. Adopting Wildean tropes of the ambiguous 'inner life' of desire and transgression, furthermore, these vignettes promote an aesthetic that disrupts the heteronormative binaries of the national narrative advanced in publications such as *The Bulletin*. In particular, Mansfield's stories dissolve rigid binaries between the feminised, domestic interior and the native, exterior landscape, or between the cultivated and wild, in order to evoke the repressed 'other' upon which the colonial nation is unjustly founded. These contributions to *The Native Companion* therefore highlight how Mansfield looked to translate the 'inner life' of modern, metropolitan, female experience *into* the masculine spaces of the bush, subverting the 'imagined community' of the nation and disrupting the hegemonic narrative of colonial settlement. The magazine, as such, becomes a subversive space in which Mansfield can negotiate an inner ambivalence, translate her writing across cultures, and articulate fantasies of global movement. In this way, these stories point to the essential 'homelessness' of Mansfield's oeuvre, in which the place of identity and desire is always located elsewhere, in 'other' places beyond the domestic interior and across the globe.

The 'connections between colonial identity and literary modernism' that Gelder and Weaver suggest Mansfield's contributions to *The Native Companion* help to open up are therefore fundamentally contentious and vexed.[87] Nevertheless, these first professional magazine contributions highlight Mansfield's unequivocal position, as Elleke Boehmer has described it, as a 'colonial modernist' whose work was 'moulded and informed within a

[87] Gelder and Weaver, p. 4.

colonial geography'.[88] In recent years, increasing attention has been paid to this idea of Mansfield as a 'colonial modernist', notably in the work of Saikat Majumdar and Anna Snaith.[89] In line with this development across Mansfield scholarship, the 2013 edition of the journal *Katherine Mansfield Studies* focused on the new perspectives that postcolonial theory provides, 'a current of Mansfield criticism' that the editor Janet Wilson describes as having 'previously lain dormant under the pressure of other theories and approaches'.[90] This thesis extends such analysis, adopting concepts of 'disjuncture' and 'difference' formulated within postcolonial studies in order to interrogate how Mansfield's modernism was shaped within or against colonial and imperialist geographical imaginaries. Elsewhere, Wilson has argued that Mansfield's 'colonial modernism entailed a reconfiguring of the dialectic of home and away, due to an oscillation between belonging yet not belonging'.[91] This prompts us to pay greater attention to the ways in which Mansfield's 'colonial modernism' was not just developed in New Zealand, but was also constituted by the tensions between identification and difference that she experienced whilst in Europe and in the metropolitan centre of London.

In December 1908, for instance, Mansfield recorded a plan to write a novel about a 'half-caste Maori' girl from Wellington who lives 'a dual existence' between there and London.[92] In her short stories, likewise, Mansfield continually negotiated a position for her work between home and away, New Zealand and London. In 1921, for example, she lists her short stories, either written or planned, in which the setting for each is alternately identified

[88] Elleke Boehmer, 'Mansfield as Colonial Modernist: Difference Within' in *Celebrating Katherine Mansfield*, ed. by Gerri Kimber and Janet Wilson (Houndmills; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 57-8.
[89] See Saikat Majumdar, 'Katherine Mansfield and the Fragility of Päkehä Boredom' in *Prose of the World: Modernism and the Banality of Empire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 71-100; Anna Snaith, 'Katherine Mansfield: Colonial Modernism and the Magazines' in *Modernist Voyages: Colonial Women Writers in London, 1890-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 110-32.
[90] Janet Wilson, 'Introduction' in *Katherine Mansfield and the (Post)colonial*, ed. by Janet Wilson, Gerri Kimber and Delia da Sousa Correa (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p. 1.
[91] Wilson, '"Where is Katherine?": Longing and (Un)belonging in the Works of Katherine Mansfield' in *Celebrating Katherine Mansfield*, p. 176.
[92] *Journal*, pp. 37-8.

as 'N.Z.' or 'L.'[93] Indeed, as Boehmer has argued, Mansfield occupied a dualistic position of 'modernist artist as outsider' (in Wellington) and 'colonial outsider as modernist' (in London).[94] Mansfield's early enthusiasm for London as a place of opportunity, for instance, was quickly replaced by her sense of alienation and displacement. On returning to England in 1908, she soon writes in a letter: 'I am physically sick – with no home – no place in which I can hang up my hat – & say here I belong – for there is no such place in the wide world for me'.[95] In her journal, she records her feeling that she is merely a trespasser in London: 'I am the little Colonial walking in the London garden patch – allowed to look, perhaps, but not to linger […] a stranger – an alien'.[96] Likewise, recalling a conversation with her brother in London before he left for the trenches, Mansfield says: 'I shall always be a stranger here'.[97] Mansfield would never see New Zealand again once she returned to England in 1908; in a letter sent to her husband, John Middleton Murry, in 1918, she emphasises: '*I shall always be homesick*'.[98] This 'outsider' status led Mansfield to repeatedly doubt her abilities. Giving her opinion about a new book by Murry, for example, she writes to him, not without irony: 'Now I must be fair; I must be fair. Who am I to be certain that I understand. There's always Karori to shout after me'.[99] Furthermore, in a passage that echoes Bhabha's emphasis on the internal division, disruption and ambiguity of the colonial writer, Mansfield states in 1922: 'I am a divided being: I am always conscious of this secret disruption in me'.[100]

Mansfield has long been recognised as this emblematic figure of modernist exile, isolation, and 'homelessness'. As Wilson has observed, however, there remains room 'for further development of a critical practice' that 'challenges the colonial/metropolitan binary in

[93] Ibid. 263; 268.
[94] Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors*, second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 127.
[95] *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 91.
[96] *Journal*, p. 157.
[97] Ibid. 85.
[98] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 177
[99] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 146.
[100] *Letters*, vol. 5, p. 304.

order to reposition Mansfield more decisively as a liminal artist, a colonial-metropolitan modernist who is located outside as well as within the international establishment'.[101] The examination of Mansfield's contributions to metropolitan periodical culture allows for a reassessment such as this. Whilst in New Zealand, as her contributions to *The Native Companion* demonstrate, Mansfield had looked to transpose 'London' into the publication spaces of the colony as a way of articulating her 'outsider' status and critiquing hegemonic narratives of the colonial nation. In an inversion of this transposition, when she began contributing to periodicals and magazines published in London, Mansfield sought to articulate her 'outsider' status by writing about 'other' places, such as Germany, France, Poland, Russia, and New Zealand, the 'new world' of the colonial periphery. This thesis argues that periodical publication provided one of the primary contexts in which Mansfield could negotiate her 'outsider' status and position her work in the middle ground between the metropolitan centre and colonial periphery; her periodical contributions enact a constant oscillation between these two positions, highlighting how the periodical form offered a space for dialogic negotiations between the conflicting impulses of identification and difference.

After Mansfield arrived back in England at the end of August 1908, she started a love affair with the musician Garnet Trowell that resulted in an unwanted pregnancy and a short-lived marriage to another man designed to give legitimacy to her unborn child. Hearing of this scandal, Mansfield's mother sailed from New Zealand and shuttled her daughter away to a pension in Bavaria, Germany, where Mansfield underwent the trauma of giving birth to a stillborn child on her own. Returning to London at the beginning of 1910, Mansfield was introduced by her husband, George Bowden, to A. R. Orage, the editor of *The New Age*. The contributions that Mansfield made to *The New Age* from February 1910 were her first

[101] Wilson, '"Where is Katherine?": Longing and (Un)belonging in the Works of Katherine Mansfield', pp. 185-6.

published stories in England, and these viciously satirical sketches, caricaturing German coarseness, comprised her first book publication, *In a German Pension*.

Publishing the work of writers such as H. G. Wells, George Bernard Shaw, and Arnold Bennett in the first years under Orage's editorship, *The New Age* quickly became an important venue for a younger generation of writers that included Ezra Pound, Wyndham Lewis, Herbert Read, Edwin Muir, and T. E. Hulme. As Wallace Martin notes, the periodical 'provides a comprehensive record of the emergence of modern culture from its Victorian and Edwardian antecedents'.[102] For instance, *The New Age* introduced a British readership to the philosophy of Nietzsche and published some of the first translations of Freud's writings. Similarly, the periodical printed early imagist poems and became the forum for a richly illustrated debate between advocates of realist and abstract art, reproducing work by Walter Sickert alongside cubist studies by Pablo Picasso. In the pages of *The New Age*, therefore, radically different positions and perspectives come into direct contact and sometimes conflict: Fabian Socialists argue with the supporters of Social Credit, Nietzsche's philosophy jostles with the mysticism of Theosophy, suffragists vie with anti-feminists, and so on. As Ardis has suggested, *The New Age* is characterised by this inherent dialogism; Orage was determined that the periodical would foster dialogue between multiple viewpoints and 'provide "some neutral ground where intelligences may met on equal terms" in a public debate about politics, literature, and the arts'.[103] As such, it is possible to situate Mansfield's first published writings in London against a variety of different contexts. Whilst scholars overwhelmingly understand these satirical sketches as responses to the biographical contexts of Mansfield's isolation in Bavaria, for instance, others have situated these writings against the wider contexts of international politics, citing the consistent focus on foreign affairs and

[102] Wallace Martin, The New Age *under Orage: Chapters in English Cultural History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), p. 3.
[103] Ardis, *Modernism and Cultural Conflict*, p. 145.

the prevailing anxieties about the increasing military dominance of Germany expressed throughout *The New Age* as evidence that Mansfield self-consciously positioned her work in a periodical that stoked anti-German sentiment in Britain. This interpretation, however, has led to undue emphasis being placed upon the idea that Mansfield's first published writings in London reveal national prejudices that precipitated the outbreak of the First World War.

Instead, as the first chapter in this thesis examines, Mansfield's contributions to *The New Age* challenged ideas of nationhood by augmenting the hundreds of articles about feminism penned in the periodical by Orage's notoriously vituperative editorial assistant, Beatrice Hastings. Like Mansfield, Hastings was an 'outsider' in London; born in South Africa, her writings demonstrate a sustained engagement with the politics of empire as well as offering a radical critique of metropolitan consensus regarding questions of gender and female suffrage. Together, writings by Mansfield and Hastings advanced a political philosophy of individualist feminism in *The New Age*, exposing connections between the early twentieth-century politics of gender and race, motherhood and imperialism. This first chapter argues that Mansfield employed the politics of individualist feminism throughout her short story contributions to *The New Age* in order to disrupt settled ideas of nationhood and empire. This disruptive impulse can also be traced in Mansfield's use of fragment forms throughout the periodical, such as aphorism and ellipsis, which she employed in order to unsettle linear, systematised discourse and thereby challenge ideas of national, cultural, and linguistic integrity. These 'fragment' contributions to *The New Age* highlight another aspect of this thesis, which looks to recover and interrogate the many different literary forms that Mansfield used throughout her career; this focus allows us to reposition Mansfield as a writer who was not restricted to the short story form, as is commonly assumed.

At the beginning of 1912, Mansfield began to consider alternative outlets for her work and started publishing in a self-consciously 'modernist' little magazine titled *Rhythm*, edited

by John Middleton Murry. Published quarterly and then monthly, *Rhythm* was a short-lived, avowedly avant-garde coterie magazine that was radically different to *The New Age*, a political weekly with a broad readership and long publication run. As such, contributing to *Rhythm* presented Mansfield with new opportunities and possibilities for her writing; she quickly established herself as an assistant editor to Murry and began publishing stories clearly influenced by her colonial upbringing. Furthermore, Mansfield began exploring different authorial signatures in *Rhythm*. The diverse array of pseudonyms utilised by Hastings in *The New Age* would have demonstrated to Mansfield the freedoms periodical publication offered, providing a space in which to recreate identity as a mode of satire and social critique. Famously, Mansfield later observed in her journal: 'True to oneself! which self? Which of my many – well really, that's what it looks like coming to – hundreds of selves?'[104] As the second chapter in this thesis examines, Mansfield used *Rhythm* as a performative space in which to develop multiple authorial identities and cultivate different national registers in her work, employing parody and mimicry as modes of satire and critique. Firstly, this chapter argues that Mansfield composed 'parodic translations' in order to open up a liminal space between centre and periphery in her poetry contributions to the magazine and thereby negotiate the ambiguities of her own cultural nationalism. Secondly, Mansfield's short story contributions to *Rhythm* parody the outback genre of colonial writing typified by *The Bulletin* in order to unsettle both the masculine gaze and colonial quest narrative that permeates visual illustrations and other written contributions to *Rhythm*, in which the female body is universally equated with verdant landscapes and virgin territories. Whilst identifying with the metropolitan modernism advanced by the magazine, this chapter argues, Mansfield sought to introduce aspects of cultural difference into *Rhythm* that challenged the spatial imaginaries upon which its discourse of communal affiliation had been constituted. This

[104] *Journal*, p. 205.

ambivalent negotiation of the colonial/metropolitan binary also structures Mansfield's satire 'Sunday Lunch'.

After *Rhythm* folded in March 1913, Murry and Mansfield established a similar little magazine, *The Blue Review*, publishing three issues between May and July 1913. A notable contributor to *The Blue Review* was D. H. Lawrence. In the autumn of 1915, Lawrence worked with Murry and Mansfield to establish another little magazine, *The Signature*, in response to the 'corruption' and 'disintegration' of the First World War. Again, only three issues were forthcoming. Over the next three and a half years, Mansfield published little and inconsistently, returning to the pages of *The New Age* with several contributions in 1917 and publishing the stories 'Bliss' and 'Carnation' the following year in *The English Review* and *The Nation* respectively. When Murry was appointed editor of the well-established periodical *The Athenaeum* at the beginning of 1919, tasked with rejuvenating it as a literary journal, however, Mansfield found a publication venue in which she was free to contribute liberally. Between April 1919 and December 1920, Mansfield published hundreds of reviews under the initials 'K.M.' in *The Athenaeum*, finding her voice as a literary critic; she also contributed a series of translations of Anton Chekhov's letters and diaries (made in collaboration with the Ukrainian émigré S. S. Koteliansky), poems written under the pseudonym 'Elizabeth Stanley', two leading articles, and a number of short stories. Writing with newfound critical authority, Mansfield's association with *The Athenaeum* represents her clearest integration into the London literary establishment.

The third chapter of this thesis examines the ways in which the spatial vocabulary of an undiscovered 'new world' both permeated *The Athenaeum* and influenced the formation of Mansfield's critical writings. Mansfield shared with other contributors to the periodical a distinct disillusionment with the perceived corruption of language by the national press during wartime; the concepts of an 'undiscovered country' and 'new world' signified the

potentialities of post-war literature to create a 'new word'. As this chapter examines, these concepts provide a geographical imaginary in Mansfield's critical writings through which she could articulate other liminal negotiations (between the ordinary and extraordinary, outer and inner, object and subject, mind and world) and distinguish literary realism from an emergent modernism. This chapter examines the ways in which Mansfield's critical writings postulate the existence of an alternate 'imagined world' in order to contest and subvert cultural consensus. Whereas the first two chapters of the thesis examine the ways in which Mansfield sought to disrupt metonymic spatial imaginaries and the 'imagined communities' of nation and empire in *The New Age* and *Rhythm*, however, this third chapter argues that Mansfield utilised the idea of a 'new world' and 'undiscovered country' in order to articulate notions of artistic and intellectual affiliation between contributors to *The Athenaeum*.

After Murry resigned as editor of *The Athenaeum*, which was merged with *The Nation* at the beginning of 1921, Mansfield negotiated a position for her writing across 'popular' and 'literary' markets by contributing short stories to publications such as *The London Mercury*, *The Sphere*, *The Saturday Westminster Gazette*, and *The Nation and the Athenaeum*. This negotiation of the 'popular' and 'literary' in Mansfield's late magazine contributions has been examined in depth by McDonnell, and this thesis does not intend to repeat such analysis. Instead, the last chapter of this thesis examines the ways in which Mansfield's reputation was mediated in magazines after her death in January 1923; by way of a coda, this chapter analyses Mansfield's 'afterlife' in Murry's magazine *The Adelphi*, interrogating the ways in which Murry sought to elide the disruptive and disjunctive aspects of Mansfield's work that are examined in the first three chapters of this thesis. In particular, Murry co-opted Mansfield's work into an 'English' literary tradition, made virtues of 'feminine' qualities that she had consistently sought to challenge or subvert in the periodical contributions made during her lifetime, and aligned her writings with a 'Romantic' literary tradition that

obscured the important role that she had played in the emergence of a new modernist aesthetic after the First World War. Whilst Murry has been routinely vilified for a perceived exploitation of Mansfield's writings after her death, I argue in this chapter that his editorial methodology was in fact indicative of wider publishing trends, in which magazine editors fostered conservative impulses towards nostalgia, mourning, and memorialisation.

This thesis seeks to move beyond a reductive form of biographical analysis by examining Mansfield's writings against the original print contexts of publication, situating her work within the 'dialogic matrix' of identification and difference sustained by early twentieth-century periodicals and magazines. In particular, it is possible to trace how cultural differences of race, gender and class throughout Mansfield's periodical contributions disrupt the 'imagined communities' of nation and empire promoted by print; these writings challenge ideological boundaries and rigid binaries in order to provide dialogic counter-narratives that create a space from which to speak both of and as the 'outsider'. Emphasising cultural translation and transnational negotiation, in particular, Mansfield's periodical contributions highlight how the twentieth-century periodical form operates as a mediating, 'in-between' space. Consistently negotiating a position for her work between the metropolitan centre of empire and the colonial periphery, or the 'other' spaces of Europe, Mansfield's writings allow us to trace convergences between the material, textual space of the periodical form and global, transnational spatial imaginaries: the single-author case study of this thesis allows for an examination of the periodical form as a paradigmatic site of spatial contestation and transnational mediation. Analysing the spatial negotiations Mansfield makes throughout her contributions to periodical print culture also enables us to reposition her more decisively as a colonial-metropolitan modernist, writing both across and between different spaces and working both within and against the international literary establishment.

1. *The New Age*

Gender Politics and Nationhood

Within a month of her return to London in 1908, keen to embrace the opportunities that the city had to offer, Katherine Mansfield attended her first suffrage meeting, on which she intended to write a newspaper report. Recounting the experience, she wrote in a letter:

> Immediately I entered the hall two women who looked like very badly upholstered chairs pounced upon me, and begged me to become a voluntary worker. There were two hundred present – all strange looking, in deadly earnest – all looking, especially the older ones, particularly "run to seed". And they got up and talked and argued until they were hoarse, and thumped on the floor and applauded – The room grew hot and in the air some spirit of agitation of revolt, stirred & grew. It was over at 10.30. I ran into the street – cool air and starlight […] & decided I could not be a suffragette – the world was too full of laughter.[1]

Critics have long interpreted this antipathy towards the suffrage movement as evidence of Mansfield's political naivety or lack of political engagement. Antony Alpers, for instance, argues that 'Kass Beauchamp was never an incipient feminist' and suggests that none of her early writings 'would have bestirred an Edwardian reader to "sit down and write a cheque"'

[1] *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 60.

in support of women's causes.[2] Andrew Bennett, likewise, asserts that 'Mansfield's feminism is largely invisible', whilst Sydney Janet Kaplan contends that Mansfield 'did not articulate her social critique of human suffering in recognizably political terms' or connect this critique to 'feminist political analysis'.[3] As I argue in this chapter, however, it was precisely Mansfield's aversion to the suffrage movement that allows us to confidently designate her as 'an incipient feminist'. Situating Mansfield's contributions to *The New Age* within the original historical contexts of publication enables us to trace lines of connection between her early writings and contemporaneous feminist political analysis; these periodical contributions sought to foster an emergent form of individualist feminism constituted in clear opposition to the suffrage movement. Moreover, this gender politics of radical individualism also shaped the critique of nationhood and imperialism in Mansfield's contributions to *The New Age*.

In particular, this chapter examines the ways in which Mansfield's contributions to *The New Age* augmented the intellectual critique of liberal feminism spearheaded within the periodical by Beatrice Hastings, a South African-born writer whose given name was Emily Alice Beatrice Haigh. Hastings was the self-proclaimed shadow 'co-editor' of *The New Age* between 1907 and 1914. In one of the most temperate assessments of her position on the periodical, Philip Mairet observed: 'She was the one woman who held her place for years amongst the regular writers of the paper and she did it by sheer force of character and volume of production'.[4] Astonishingly, Hastings made nearly 400 contributions to *The New Age*, regularly sparking controversy in the periodical with intentionally provocative articles penned under a dizzying array of pseudonyms.[5] The anonymity with which Hastings

[2] Antony Alpers, *The Life of Katherine Mansfield*, revised edition (London: Jonathan Cape, 1980), p. 328.
[3] Andrew Bennett, *Katherine Mansfield* (Devon: Northcote House, 2004), p. 46; Sydney Janet Kaplan, *Katherine Mansfield and the Origins of Modernist Fiction* (New York; London: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 16-17.
[4] Philip Mairet, *A. R. Orage: A Memoir* (London: Dent, 1936), pp. 46-7.
[5] Hastings's many pseudonyms included, in order of appearance: 'Pagan', 'Annette Doorly', 'Beatrice Tina', 'Robert á Field', 'A Reluctant Suffragette', 'Hastings Lloyd', 'Mrs Beatrice T. Hastings' ('B. H.'), 'D. Triformis', 'Alice Morning' ('A. M.'), 'Mrs Malaprop', 'T. K. L.', 'E. Agnes R. Haigh', 'Edward Stafford', and

circulated her writings, however, has meant that her prominent position on the periodical has often gone unnoticed. When she is remembered, if at all, it is for her venomous memoir, published after Orage's death, in which she accused him and his circle of conducting 'a social cabale' [sic] against her, 'a literary boycott that does, or should, matter to every reading person'.[6] In this memoir, Hastings claimed that it was she who had 'had entire charge of, and responsibility for, the literary direction of the paper, from reading and selection of MSS. to the last detail of spacing and position' and that it was she who had discovered and then championed both Mansfield and Ezra Pound.[7] The actual position that Hastings occupied on the periodical is difficult to ascertain with any certainty, however, as all archival records for *The New Age* were lost to posterity when the Cursitor Street offices were bombed in the Second World War; moreover, Hastings systematically destroyed her personal papers before committing suicide in 1943, putting them to the fire after they were rejected by the British Museum. The scraps of typescript that survived this attempted self-erasure from the literary record are printed as an appendix to this thesis. Inevitably, Hastings's reputation has suffered in the face of this lacuna. By adopting so many masks throughout her writings, in particular, Hastings effectively wrote herself out of literary history; subsequently, her claims against Orage have largely been dismissed as the vindictive ravings of a bitter ex-lover.

This chapter seeks to resuscitate the reputation of Beatrice Hastings as an important figure in the emergence of early twentieth-century literary modernism, crediting her with a crucial role in the formation and development of Katherine Mansfield's first published writings in London. Whilst their literary careers ultimately took very different trajectories, there are striking similarities in the biographies of Mansfield and Hastings. Significantly,

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'Sydney Robert West'. In her memoir, Hastings refers to six other pseudonyms that are untraceable: 'H. M.', 'G. Whiz', 'J. Wilson', 'T. W.', 'A. M. A.', and 'Cynicus'. She also claims to have written over sixty articles for the column 'Present-Day Criticism' as 'R. H. C.', a pseudonym usually attributed to Orage.

[6] Beatrice Hastings, *The Old "New Age": Orage and others* (London: Blue Moon Press, 1936), p. 3.

[7] Ibid.

both were born in outposts of the British Empire. This has led biographers to associate both writers with a 'wild' factor attributed to their 'colonial' status: for example, Claire Tomalin describes Mansfield as a 'wild Colonial girl', an epithet that Jeffrey Meyers then uses for the title of a chapter on Hastings.[8] Both were the daughters of prosperous self-made colonial merchants, and both enjoyed rebelling against the bourgeois conventions of their parents. Both were sent to finish their schooling in England, before courting scandal with brief marriages and unwanted pregnancies. And both made being 'colonial' or '*déracinée*' sound exotic and fashionable, until it suited them to play the metropolitan aesthete. As well as being acutely aware of their 'outsider' status, therefore, both women were also characterised by a profound sense of a divided or dual identity, cultivating multiple personae and employing various pseudonyms within their work. In Hastings's case, this divided identity can be seen in the portraits of her created by Tom Titt, the cartoonist on *The New Age* (Figure 15), and by Amedeo Modigliani (Figure 16): the first was sketched for publication in the periodical, whilst the drawing by Modigliani, in which Hastings is both reading a periodical and modelling as artist's muse, clearly associates her immersion within periodical culture as a precondition for her multifaceted personalities. Finally, Mansfield and Hastings were both fiercely intelligent, caustic, and quick-witted, possessing mischievous and mordent senses of humour. Satire and parody were therefore common modes of writing in the contributions made by both to *The New Age*. Quick to launch into an argument, however, both women were also highly-strung and subject to violent tempers. The poet Ruth Pitter, for instance, recalled entering the offices of *The New Age* on one occasion to find the floor scattered with beads after Mansfield and Hastings had come to blows with their necklaces.[9] It was this shared

[8] Claire Tomalin, *Katherine Mansfield: A Secret Life* (London: Viking, 1987), p. 2; Jeffrey Meyers, *Modigliani: A Life* (London: Duckworth Overlook, 2008), p. 130.
[9] John Carswell, *Lives and Letters: A.R. Orage, Beatrice Hastings, Katherine Mansfield, John Middleton Murry, S.S. Koteliansky, 1906-1957* (London: Faber, 1978), p. 74.

temperamental volatility that ultimately led to their estrangement, with each expressing violent dislike for the other from 1915 onwards.

Despite these evident similarities, however, the reciprocity and rivalry between the two writers has received almost no critical attention. Scholars have failed to interrogate Mansfield's association with Hastings on *The New Age* in any real depth, often taking her word about the older writer (the bitter pronouncements made in her later correspondence and journals) as gospel. This is in stark contrast to Mansfield's literary relationship with Virginia Woolf, which has been the focus of several comprehensive analyses. This imbalance is largely attributable to the fact that Hastings has been consistently presented derogatively in one-sided biographies of her more famous contemporaries and has often been dismissed as merely the 'fiery mistress' to various male protagonists of modernism, such as Orage, Wyndham Lewis, and Modigliani.[10] Meyers, for example, dismisses Hastings with his typical bigotry as a 'rabid feminist' responsible only for fulfilling male sexual appetites and arranging an illegal abortion for Mansfield.[11] In their introduction to the first volume of Mansfield's collected letters, likewise, Vincent O'Sullivan and Margaret Scott characterise Hastings as 'witty and malicious' and credit her with instructing Mansfield only in 'swank and bitchiness'.[12] Mansfield's most authoritative biographer, Alpers, reflects the critical consensus about Hastings when he states that she was 'raging' and 'fanatically jealous' of Mansfield.[13] There have been some recent attempts at revision, however. As well as a full-length biography of Hastings by Stephen Gray, Ann Ardis has argued for her centrality on *The New Age*, Lucy Delap has shown how she was an important figure within the feminist avant-garde, and Robert Scholes has examined the contributions she made to *The New Age*

[10] Meyers, *Katherine Mansfield: A Darker View* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2002), p. 55.
[11] Ibid. 58.
[12] Vincent O'Sullivan and Margaret Scott, 'Introduction' in *Letters*, vol. 1, p. xi.
[13] Alpers, p. 114.

from 1914 whilst living in Paris.[14] Similarly, Carey Snyder has examined how Hastings's satirical writings for *The New Age* shaped Mansfield's own, and Lee Garver makes passing reference to the influence her feminism exerted in the development of Mansfield's early writings.[15] This literary relationship, however, patently demands closer analysis.

This chapter analyses the ways in which these two 'wild Colonial girls' challenged and unsettled metropolitan assumptions about gender and nationhood. The first section examines how the radical version of individualist feminism advanced by Hastings in *The New Age* responded to a contemporary cultural discourse linking motherhood and imperialism, gender and nationhood. It was in the context of this public discourse that both Hastings and Mansfield formulated remarkably similar, coterminous ideas about female suffrage, marriage, and maternity. Whilst Hastings subscribed to the eugenicist tenets of national health and racial stability, however, Mansfield deployed her feminist politics in order to radically subvert and critique such ideas throughout her contributions to *The New Age*. The second section of the chapter examines the ways in which this critique shaped the so-called 'Pension Sketches' that Mansfield contributed to the periodical between 1910 and 1911. The last two sections of the chapter then examine how both writers employed fragment forms in their contributions to the periodical, such as aphorism and ellipsis, in order to disrupt linear, systematised discourse and thereby challenge ideas of national, cultural, and linguistic integrity; in this way, both writers used periodical publication in order to subvert national and social imaginaries, formulating alternative modes of identification.

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[14] Stephen Gray, *Beatrice Hastings: A Literary Life* (London: Viking, 2004); Ann Ardis, 'Debating Feminism, Modernism, and Socialism: Beatrice Hastings' voices in *The New Age*' in *Gender in Modernism: New Geographies, Complex Intersections*, ed. by Bonnie Kime Scott (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 160-85; Lucy Delap, 'Feminist and Anti-Feminist Encounters in Edwardian Britain' in *Historical Research*, 78.201 (Aug. 2005), 377-99; Robert Scholes, 'Model Artists in Paris' in *Parodoxy of Modernism* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006), 221-56.

[15] Carey Snyder, 'Katherine Mansfield and the *New Age* School of Satire' in *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, 1.2 (2010), 125-58; Lee Garver, 'The Political Katherine Mansfield' in *Modernism/Modernity*, 8.2 (April 2001), 225-43.

Renegade Feminism

In early twentieth-century British public discourse, as Jane Garrity has argued, 'the categories of *gender* and *national identity* are inseparable'.[16] Economic and political competition from recently industrialised nations such as Germany, the United States, and Japan, a disastrous military campaign in the Boar War (in which a third of volunteers had been rejected as physically unfit for service), increased infant mortality among the poor, and a birth rate that had been steadily declining since the turn of the century were all contributing factors that exacerbated fears that Britain was about to be eclipsed as an imperial power and that the country was becoming degenerate and racially inferior. As Anna Davin suggests, the 'result was a surge of concern about the bearing and rearing of children – the next generation of soldiers and workers, the Imperial race'.[17] In the first decade of the twentieth century, the number of voluntary organisations promoting public health, hygiene, and motherhood expanded year on year: the Institute of Hygiene (1903), the Infants' Health Society (1904), the National League of Health, Maternity and Child Welfare (1905), the Eugenics Education Society (1908), and the Women's League of Service for Motherhood (1910) being prime examples.[18] If Britain was to continue to compete on the international stage, it was argued, then the country must rear healthy, virile, eugenically-sound children. It was widely believed that the population was a national resource that guaranteed the power of the empire. In the context of this public discourse, as Garrity has argued, the 'white, middle-class, procreative female body was regarded as integral to the well-being of the nation and central to empire-building, key to conceptions of racial fitness and national stability'.[19] As Garrity clarifies, 'the word "race," when applied to women in early twentieth-century Britain, invariably had

[16] Jane Garrity, *Step-daughters of England: British Women Modernists and the National Imaginary* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 5.
[17] Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood' in *History Workshop*, 5 (Spring 1978), p. 12.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Garrity, p. 2.

imperial connotations and functioned as a synonym for "nation"'.[20] The body of the white, middle-class Englishwoman, therefore, was valued as a national asset that 'would both stabilize the imaginary borders of the nation and contribute to the expansion of its empire': the female body was the guarantor of 'British racial stability' and national identity.[21]

These ideas reaffirmed the belief that a woman's 'natural' role was in the home. As Major General Sir Frederick Maurice declared in 1903, quoting the Emperor of Germany and thereby drawing an explicit comparison between Britain and its principal military rival, 'for the raising of a virile race, either of soldiers or of citizens, it is essential that the attention of the mothers of the land should be mainly devoted to the three K's – Kinder, Kuche, Kirche' (Children, Kitchen, Church).[22] In this context, 'new women' who challenged the 'natural' division of the sexes were viewed with increasing hostility. A doctor writing in the *Eugenics Review* in 1911, for example, declared that whilst 'the new woman is a more interesting companion than her predecessors' 'womanliness' finds its best 'expression in the domestic sphere and more particularly in the roles of wife and mother': the 'new women' may be intelligent and capable in the arts and sciences, trades and professions, he argued, but they were not fit 'to become the mothers of a stronger and more virile race, able to keep Britain in its present proud position among the nations of the world'.[23] This view shaped the backlash to the increasing demands for female suffrage in the first years of the twentieth century. Writing in the *Anti-Suffrage Review* in 1910, for instance, Lord Cromer declared: 'can we hope to compete with such a nation as this [Germany] if we war against nature, and endeavour to invert the natural roles of the sexes? We cannot do so'.[24] The 'natural' division

[20] Ibid. 23.
[21] Ibid. 1.
[22] Quoted in Davin, p. 16.
[23] R. Murray Leslie, 'Woman's Progress in Relation to Eugenics' in *Eugenics Review* (Jan. 1911), p.283. Quoted in Davin, pp. 20-1.
[24] Quoted in Les Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women's Liberty: Feminist Ideas in the Women's Suffrage Movement 1900-1918* (London: Heinemann, 1984), p. 9.

of the sexes into the different spheres of the 'public' and 'domestic', it was argued, would secure the power of the British Empire and produce a stronger, 'more virile race'.

One of the striking features of the suffrage movement in the early twentieth century, however, was the ready acceptance of this 'natural' domestic and maternal role for women. A leader of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, for instance, confirmed that a woman's 'most sacred duty' and 'greatest privilege' was 'the nurture and care of little children': writing in the periodical *Votes for Women*, she declared that the suffrage movement 'means the coming into the world of new and noble race ideals' and that this would help women 'rear a healthy race'.[25] With many in the WSPU becoming disenchanted by this rhetoric, as well as by the growing autocracy of Pethick-Lawrence and Christabel and Emmeline Pankhurst, the Women's Freedom League (WFL) split from the Union in 1906. Following this development, the WSPU began to disentangle itself from its previous affiliation with the Independent Labour Party and increasingly moved away from its socialist origins. For many, such as Teresa Billington-Grieg, the leader of the WFL, the WSPU came to represent a conformist and avowedly middle-class movement that was focused exclusively on attaining the vote at the expense of identifying and attempting to alleviate the economic basis for gender inequality. For these critics, the underlying acceptance of the existing political, economic, and social system within the WSPU was further exposed by the outbreak of the First World War: for instance, WSPU members were the first to hand out white feathers to men who did not enlist and the first to call for national conscription. Making an agreement with Lloyd George to put the campaign for the vote on hold until after the war, the WSPU also changed the title of its periodical from *The Suffragette* to *The Britannia* in October 1915, signalling the belief that it was now the national interest and the protection of empire that mattered more than female suffrage.

[25] Ibid. 50.

The WSPU and the 'suffragettes' have been afforded a prominent place in histories of early twentieth-century feminism, largely due to the highly public tactics of militancy employed before the war, such as window-smashing and painting-slashing. This emphasis, however, obscures the history of other individuals and political movements that were positioned in direct opposition to the WSPU. Lily Gair Wilkinson, for example, attacked the suffrage movement as merely reformist: in *Revolutionary Socialism and the Woman's Movement* (1910), she argued that female suffrage would only benefit those 'who belong to the privileged or propertied class in society'.[26] The following year, Billington-Grieg wrote a denunciatory treatise titled *The Militant Suffrage Movement – Emancipation in a Hurry*, in which she argued that WSPU militancy was 'determinedly conventional' and simply a publicity stunt, attacking 'soft' targets rather than large Liberal-owned factories, and that the Pankhurst autocracy prevented independent thought and limited wider feminist debate.[27] Similarly, the majority of contributors to the radical magazine *The Freewoman*, founded by Dora Marsden after she split from the WSPU in 1911, argued that suffragism merely reaffirmed stereotypical gender roles, perpetuating the oppression of women, and that the struggle for a single reform, the vote, served only to divert energies away from wider debate. These alternatives to the WSPU-dominated narrative of early twentieth-century feminism, as Les Garner has observed, reveal a constellation of 'revolutionary perspectives on sexuality, reproduction and the domestic and maternal ideology' that truly challenged the status quo.[28]

The writings of Beatrice Hastings belong to this other history. From 1907, as Delap has examined, Hastings was instrumental in orchestrating debate within *The New Age* about the 'Woman Question' and brought the periodical into contact with other journals devoted to feminism and the suffrage movement, creating a 'periodical community' that included *Votes*

[26] Ibid. 4.
[27] Ibid. 59-60.
[28] Garner, p. 72.

for Women and *The Englishwoman*.[29] This ensured that *The New Age* continued to be read amongst feminists and suffragists despite the journal's strong anti-suffrage tendencies. Indeed, in the pre-war years, *The New Age* was an important platform for widely divergent opinion on the 'Woman Question', from the staunch anti-feminism of the socialist Ernest Belfort Bax, for example, to the feminist rallying cries of Billington-Grieg. Hastings used her many pseudonyms and various personae in *The New Age* to reflect and satirise this wide range of opinion: she played with the identities of 'feminist' and 'anti-feminist', often using one pseudonym to comment upon work penned under a different name, thereby simulating debate and fabricating controversy. As such, Hastings's views do not represent a unified system of thought: very quickly, for example, she moves from apparently supporting the suffrage movement to an uncompromising, radical eschewal of all collectivist politics. Through her many contributions to *The New Age* and her many shifts in viewpoint, however, Hastings arrived at what she termed a 'feminine anti-Suffragist' position.[30] Inspired by Nietzsche's philosophy, she advocated the importance of individual female agency, personality, and strength of will as the necessary preliminaries to social change. In this sense, Hastings anticipated, by several years, the 'individualist feminism' more commonly associated with Marsden and *The Freewoman*. Whilst Hastings's views were often contradictory and intentionally ambiguous, therefore, her political philosophy can be categorised by its consistent emphasis on the free and dissenting individual: what I term here 'renegade feminism'.

In her first contribution to *The New Age* in 1907, a short sketch titled 'A Modern Bacchante', Hastings suggests that 'modern' women, if they are really free, should *flaunt*

[29] Delap, p. 393.
[30] Quoted in Rachel Potter, *Modernism and Democracy: Literary Culture 1900-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 13.

their freedom.[31] Following this, she quickly became a regular voice within the periodical enlarging controversies surrounding feminism and the suffrage movement. Writing as 'Beatrice Tina' in direct response to Belfort Bax's article 'Feminism and Female Suffrage', for example, Hastings argued that 'women alone know what women need'; that women love 'liberty of mind and body' just as much as men; and that women will never achieve greater equality so long as it is dictated to them by an all-male establishment.[32] Bax had argued that men suffered under a number of legal disabilities that more than outweighed women's lack of the vote; Hastings responded by writing that the 'return made for women's disability in bearing children is meanly inadequate', arguing that trivial legal rights could not compensate for women's contribution to society through the horror of repeated childbirth.[33] This argument echoed that made by the eugenicist M. D. Eder in *The Endowment of Motherhood*, a pamphlet published by the New Age Press in 1908. The idea of 'endowment' was a demand for the financial recognition by the state that motherhood contributed to the good of society; Eder argued that mothers should receive a weekly wage, as well as free housing, food, and fuel. As well as echoing this demand, Hastings's article, titled 'Woman as State Creditor', generated notoriety in *The New Age* for its suggestion that women did not universally seek motherhood. The Fabian author Edith Nesbit, for example, wrote to the letters page of the periodical to suggest that Hastings was an 'abnormal female' in her dislike of maternity, concluding: 'Why scream and kick and bite and scratch and make faces at the Life-force?'[34] This article launched Hastings's career and provided the kernel for her future pamphlet, published in 1909 by the New Age Press, *Woman's Worst Enemy: Woman*.

In *Woman's Worst Enemy: Woman*, Hastings used her personal experience of marriage and unwanted maternity to denounce both: she links repeated childbirth to the

[31] Pagan [Hastings], 'A Modern Bacchante' in *New Age*, 1.18 (Aug. 29, 1907), p. 279.
[32] Beatrice Tina [Hastings], 'Woman as State Creditor' in *New Age*, 3.9 (June 27, 1908), p. 169.
[33] Ibid.
[34] E. [Edith] Nesbit, 'Beatrice Tina and the Almighty' in *New Age*, 3.10 (July 4, 1907), pp. 197-8.

industrialisation of labour; argues that training women as obstetricians would minimise the danger of child delivery (having seen her younger sister die in childbirth); demands greater availability of contraception, so that sexual pleasure may be separated from procreation; and, most forcefully of all, argues for less obfuscation surrounding marriage, so that young women may be educated about sex. The pamphlet opens with the line: 'This book is written for the pleasure of denouncing the sort of female whose modesty howls for silence on such important matters as sex and maternity'.[35] The paradox of the pamphlet's title, therefore, is addressed to a particular 'sort of female' that Hastings elsewhere terms the 'Other Woman', those who perpetuate a cycle of enforced innocence among the young. This designation is very similar to Marsden's later concept of the slavish 'Bondwoman' opposed by the 'Freewoman'.[36] Writing as 'A Reluctant Suffragette' in 1908, for instance, Hastings defined the 'Other Woman' thus:

> It is the Other Woman who […] intensifies the fury of competition by her covetous demands, and exasperates class distinctions by her insolent exclusiveness. It is the Other Woman […] who preaches content and resignation to the poor that her own may have the fairer field and more favour. […] It is the Other Woman (for the most part) who has the children, and therefore gets full opportunity of instilling her gospel, such as it is, into the receptive ears of young England. The Other Woman's power is thus already enormous, and out of all proportion to the influence wielded by the thinking few. […] When the young girl begins to think, and wants to be Woman and not Other Woman, who is it helps her? […] The Other Woman is the real formative influence in society.[37]

By employing the concept of the Other Woman, therefore, Hastings sought to reintroduce a socialist critique of class and capitalist economics into feminist political analysis. Writing as the 'Reluctant Suffragette', she concludes by stating that the Other Woman 'reigns in any

[35] Beatrice Tina [Hastings], *Woman's Worst Enemy: Woman* (London: The New Age Press, 1909), p. 2.
[36] [Dora Marsden], 'Bondwomen' in *Freewoman*, 1.1 (Nov. 23, 1911), pp. 1-2.
[37] A Reluctant Suffragette [Hastings], 'The Other Women' in *New Age*, 3.10 (July 4, 1908), p. 187.

case, and at present very badly. She must be taught the uses of her power, and if nothing but a vote can teach her, in Heaven's name give her a vote'.[38] This is indicative of the way in which Hastings's early support for the suffrage movement was always equivocal and conditional. In articles written in 1908, for example, Hastings endorsed suffrage militancy, but not as a means of achieving the vote; militancy was the only way to counter an oppressive British social system, Hastings argued, and she drew particular attention to the degradations suffered by imprisoned suffragettes and an incident at a suffrage meeting at the Albert Hall at which several women had been raped by Liberal stewards.[39] As she wrote at the end of 'Woman as State Creditor': 'The militant suffragettes have saved us from the last ignominy of the slave – the obligation to give thanks for enfranchisement'.[40]

It was Hastings's concept of the Other Woman that ultimately made it impossible for her to support the suffrage movement, however. When she wrote that the logic of anti-feminists such as Belfort Bax 'presents itself to my mind as being so deeply and rationally irrefutable' it was because she loathed what she perceived to be the female 'parasites' who campaigned for the vote not for greater 'sex freedom' but in order to gain greater material advantages from within marriage, to 'grab after' their 'husband's earnings'.[41] Like Lily Gair Wilkinson, Hastings argued that female suffrage would only enfranchise the Other Woman, who would use the power of a vote to protect her own self-interests and those of the moneyed classes. For Hastings, therefore, female suffrage did not equate to female freedom: far better to be a woman 'with the spirit to be free' than to be a parasite with the vote.[42]

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[38] Ibid.
[39] Beatrice Tina [Hastings], 'Suffragettes in the Making' in *New Age*, 4.6 (Dec. 3, 1908), p. 109; 'On Guard' in *New Age*, 4.7 (Dec. 10, 1908), p. 123.
[40] Hastings, *Woman's Worst Enemy: Woman*, p. 55.
[41] Beatrice Tina [Hastings], 'The Case of the Anti-Feminists' in *New Age*, 3.18 (Aug. 29, 1908), p. 349; 'Mary Wollstonecraft' in *New Age*, 5.5 (July 15, 1909), p. 106.
[42] D. Triformis [Hastings], 'Lady McLaren's Charter' in *New Age*, 6.23 (April 7, 1910), p. 533.

There is a clear strain of misogyny in these writings, as when Hastings quips: 'The world is not hard upon women; women are'.[43] However, Hastings always had a particular 'sort of female' in mind, such as Nesbit, the 'Other Woman' who upholds sexual difference and celebrates maternity and marriage in the sacralised language of 'God' and 'Life-force'. Whilst Olive Schreiner in *Woman and Labour* (1911) also argued that the exclusion of women from employment forced them into a 'parasitic' position, and that the passive, middle-class accumulation of material goods was a clog to female individuality, for instance, in a review of this book for *The New Age* Hastings denounced Schreiner as 'reactionary' because of her emphasis on the 'sacredness of sex relations', the 'divine gift' of parenthood, and the 'glory and beatitude of a virile womanhood'.[44] This was an intentional misreading of Schreiner, possibly motivated by a sense of competition with the older woman as another female South African writer. As Anna Snaith has argued, Schreiner was 'careful to offer multiple possibilities for women's labour: physical, intellectual, artistic or reproductive and maternal'.[45] In her review, Hastings overlooks this comprehensiveness in order to emphasise Schreiner's ideas about maternity: Hastings argues that there is nothing sacred, divine, or glorious about maternity, and that women would be far better off getting an education and entering the professions 'by force and in force'.[46] In her commitment to the autodidactic and socially disruptive, therefore, Hastings consistently positioned herself within *The New Age* as a champion of the 'thinking few', versus the mass of what she perceived to be the unthinking, conventional, class-bound, and parasitic 'Other Women'.

Whilst Hastings denounced motherhood as 'ignominious' and mentally debilitating, however, she also clearly subscribed to the eugenicist ideas of her day, arguing that the

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[43] Ibid.
[44] Olive Schreiner, *Woman and Labour* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1911), p. 100; [Hastings], 'Woman and Labour' in *New Age*, 8.18 (March 2, 1911), p. 413.
[45] Anna Snaith, *Modernist Voyages: Colonial Women Writers in London, 1890-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 62.
[46] Hastings, 'Woman and Labour', p. 413.

population was a national resource that should be controlled and managed by the state.[47] In *Woman's Worst Enemy: Woman*, for instance, she writes: 'In proportion to its intelligence, a community will demand quality rather than quantity' and 'numbers count less than intelligence': 'Good breeding is a communal matter, and the ideal State would be one wherein every person born was really welcomed, and every person dead one really missed'.[48] Hastings argued that 'good breeding' depended upon good mothers. 'To a highly-developed, imaginative woman maternity means months of odious ignominy, and finally a struggle with death as through waves of flame', whereas to 'the perfect mother the whole process of maternity should be from beginning to end a sensuous and a spiritual enjoyment'.[49] It was for the good of the nation, therefore, that motherhood should be a choice. Hastings argued that this choice could only be facilitated by a woman's financial independence from men: 'economic freedom – that is, the control of her sex instincts independently of man's control of the means to live'.[50] Again echoing the idea of 'endowment', she writes that women 'must be freed from the terror of starvation in case they become mothers':

> If at such a period all classes of women were economically freed, it would be possible to predict the immediate birth of happily and freely born children, and perhaps an even constantly renewable source of energy for the nation.[51]

As such, Hastings's ideas were clearly formulated within the public discourse outlined above, linking motherhood and childbirth with racial stability and national power. So long as women remained financially dependent upon men, Hastings argued, 'the birth-rate steadily declines' and 'numberless women continue to bear unwanted children, to whom they bequeath a failing generative energy, which finally weakens the whole nation into sterility and ignominious

[47] Hastings, *Woman's Worst Enemy: Woman*, p. 6.
[48] Ibid. 47-8.
[49] Ibid. 53; 9.
[50] Ibid. 46.
[51] Ibid. 46-7.

decay'.[52] Hastings's ideas were therefore formulated in response to prevailing anxieties about national decay and racial degeneracy:

> A decadent nation, in attempting to restore its energy by forcing women into becoming mothers, merely burns the candle at both ends. There is only one possible way in which such a State may recuperate its strength, and that way is to imitate the instinct of young nations in neglecting marriage bonds and giving its women sex-liberty, so that those with the strongest maternal instinct may freely direct the genius of motherhood.[53]

Hastings argued that 'the offspring of unhappy women could not be but poor stuff' and that the continued need for reform in attitudes to motherhood and childbirth 'is decimating the population-rate'.[54] In this, her concern was with preserving the strength of the nation. Adopting the apocalyptic language of the Old Testament, for instance, she admonishes the 'English Adam': ''Tis thine own fault that thou shalt die the slow death of past nations' and 'Thou deserves well thy quiver full of dolts and cripples': 'Behold the ruins of all the world before us. There under, lowest down, lie the women who should never have been mothers'.[55]

These ideas were given imaginative expression in a serialised novella by Hastings titled *Whited Sepulchres*, published in *The New Age* from April 1909. The protagonist of this story is Nan Pearson. In the first scene of the novella, we see Nan in her bedroom sat 'in the novelistic fashion' reading Rossetti's 'The Blessed Damozel' and surrounded by a 'demi-romantic arrangement' of art needlework, pink ribbons, and religious watercolours.[56] Nan's knowledge about sex is limited to the biblical phrase of 'one flesh' and she is described as

[52] Ibid. 32; 6.
[53] Ibid. 6-7.
[54] Ibid. 34.
[55] Ibid. 14; 18; 20.
[56] Beatrice Tina [Hastings], 'Whited Sepulchres' in *New Age*, 5.1 (April 29, 1909), p. 13.

'the merest child in her conception of the secrets of marriage'.[57] On the night before Nan's wedding, her mother equips her with only a few words of useless advice:

> "Now listen, my dearest Nan. You really need a little plain commonsense. Love and marriage are not at all the nonsense you seem to imagine they are. Men are but men, and before the honeymoon is over you will discover what I mean. [...] Marriage is not romantic at all in actual fact. There is a good deal of – er – disagreeableness to be encountered, and probably much pain, but you must put up with it. It is natural and ordained by Providence. It is the lot of all women […] "[58]

On the honeymoon, a violation occurs: naivety is displaced by this traumatic sexual initiation and romantic expectation is replaced with realistic dismay. Nan reflects, fatalistically: 'So that is marriage'.[59] When she tries to leave, her husband forces her to stay, holding her by the neck and throwing her down onto the bed. *Whited Sepulchres* is about the hypocrisy of the institution of marriage: that which is outwardly pure, beautiful, and 'ordained by Providence' conceals violence, pain, and unhappiness.

The next chapter advances eight years, close to the time of the work's publication, and is prefaced by a quotation from Hastings's 1908 article on the Other Woman: 'What bars Woman's progress now is not so much Man as the Other Woman'.[60] This is an example of Hastings using multiple personae in order to generate the illusion of a conversation and identification between contributors to *The New Age*. The chapter prefaced by this quotation depicts the social world of the Other Woman. Nan – now 'Mrs Tom Heck' – holds 'at home' afternoons, in which the women discuss topical issues, such as the suffrage movement, but conclude: 'Of course, it's a shame that we should suffer and men get off free, but God

[57] Ibid.
[58] Beatrice Tina [Hastings], 'Whited Sepulchres' in *New Age*, 5.2 (May 6, 1909), pp. 35-6.
[59] Beatrice Tina [Hastings], 'Whited Sepulchres' in *New Age*, 5.3 (May 13, 1909), p. 55.
[60] A Reluctant Suffragette [Hastings], 'The Other Women', p. 187.

arranged it like that, and we have to put up with it'.[61] In this social circle, 'intellectual things' (that which might interest the 'thinking few') are quickly dismissed; instead, the women prefer to talk exclusively about their children and the upcoming Church bazaar.[62]

When Nan meets the young, cosmopolitan, and artistically inclined Raymond Cattle, the novella builds towards the possible transgression occasioned by a society ball. However, Nan's romantic expectations are again misplaced. After a short kiss outside the ball, Raymond asks Nan: '"You love me? […] You are mine?"' but he quickly betrays her, thinking to himself:

> Fair and foolish, and a little faded, was his summary. He hated fair women, really – of course he did. And this one, with all her monstrous airs of puritanry [sic], was easy as a lazy demi-mondaine; and far more stupid. […] He determined to keep a certain promise he had made to reappear in Paris on Sunday evening. There was chic in Paris, the real chic, and real gay love – and no scandal.[63]

In the correspondence pages of *The New Age*, Hastings described *Whited Sepulchres* as a depiction of 'the common stagnant life': 'The fact is that such stories have been written hundreds of times, but always in the vocabulary of romance'.[64] Nan hopes to find release from 'the common stagnant life' in a love affair with Raymond, but this romantic expectation is replaced by the dismal reality of her marriage and motherhood. In particular, Hastings set out to subvert the tropes of romantic fiction by depicting the 'drudgeries of the nursery'.[65] Nan's son is a spoilt, screaming, unmanageable child who makes the house uninhabitable for Mr Heck, who finds his respite in the brothels of the West End, fathering other children by other women. In this way, Hastings not only highlights the double standards of sexual

[61] Beatrice Tina [Hastings], 'Whited Sepulchres' in *New Age*, 5.4 (May 20, 1909), p. 77.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Beatrice Tina [Hastings], 'Whited Sepulchres' in *New Age*, 5.6 (June 3, 1909), p. 119.
[64] Beatrice Tina [Hastings], 'A Reply to my Critics' in *New Age*, 5.12 (July 15, 1909), p. 243.
[65] Beatrice Tina [Hastings], 'Whited Sepulchres' in *New Age*, 5.1 (April 29, 1909), p. 13.

morality in early twentieth-century Britain, but also depicts the 'failing generative energy' of the nation in the body of the unwanted tyrant child: a child who is the product of Nan's youthful ignorance about sex and the institutionalised male violence practiced by her husband; a child who literally cries himself to death, choking in convulsions. Illuminating the social hypocrisy surrounding marriage and maternity, *Whited Sepulchres* also depicts the racial degeneracy and national decay that Hastings believed was generated by this hypocrisy. As such, the novella closes with Nan tired, haggard, and old before her years.

Whited Sepulchres ignited heated discussion within the correspondence pages of *The New Age* over the following months; correspondence that covered the topic of rape within marriage and the advantage men took over women's ignorance about sex. Hastings's ideas would have been well known to anyone reading *The New Age* over the summer of 1909, therefore. We know that Mansfield left England for Germany at some point in the week preceding 4 June, the date on which she arrived in Bavaria with her mother, who had sailed from New Zealand to cover up the scandal of Mansfield's hasty marriage to George Bowden. The last instalment of *Whited Sepulchres* was published on 10 June, so it would have been impossible for Mansfield to have read this or the previous instalment from the week before; however, she may well have followed the first five instalments of the novella. Indeed, Mansfield had first met Bowden in December 1908 at the St. John's Wood home of Dr. Caleb Saleeby, a well-known science writer and regular contributor to *The New Age* with articles on race, eugenics, and motherhood. In 1909, for instance, Saleeby published a book titled *Parenthood and Race Culture*, in which he wrote: 'The history of nations is determined not on the battlefield but in the nursery, and the battalions which give lasting victory are the battalions of babies'.[66] As a member of Saleeby's social circle, therefore, Mansfield would have been immersed in the public discourse of motherhood and imperialism outlined above.

[66] Quoted in Davin, p. 29.

It is also highly likely that she would have been closely following debates within *The New Age* on this topic. At the end of 1908, *The New Age* was enjoying an all-time high circulation of 22,000 copies (not accounting for the single copies that would have been passed between several readers). Whilst there exists no concrete evidence that Mansfield read *The New Age* before she began contributing to the periodical at the beginning of 1910, as an aspiring writer within Saleeby's social circle at a time when *The New Age* was widely circulated, it is not just possible but highly probable that Mansfield was a regular reader of the periodical when she was in London between August 1908 and June 1909; therefore, it is likely that Mansfield read the first five instalments of Hastings's novella, in which Nan has become trapped by marriage and hopes to find release in a love affair with the cosmopolitan and artistic Raymond Cattle, who writes to her from 'gay Paris'.[67]

A recently discovered short story by Mansfield, titled 'A Little Episode' and printed as an appendix to this thesis,[68] is based upon exactly this kind of love triangle: the young protagonist Yvonne is trapped in a loveless marriage to Geoffrey Mandeville; after reigniting a love affair with the Parisian pianist Jacques Saint Pierre, she hopes to find release from the stifling conventions of society; however, the story ends with Jacques betraying Yvonne, as he writes a letter in his hotel room to another lover in which he reveals that he sees Yvonne as 'quite a little Society lady' with 'the inevitable feminine passion for trying to relight fires that have long since been ashes'. 'A Little Episode' ends with Yvonne 'instinctively with a little childish gesture' covering her face with one arm as she waits in bed for her husband, who walks up the stairs with 'heavy ponderous footsteps'. This tableau, with its suggestion of rape within marriage, prefigures a similar scene in Mansfield's later story 'Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding'. As already noted, it would have been impossible for Mansfield to have

[67] Beatrice Tina [Hastings], 'Whited Sepulchres' in *New Age*, 5.5 (May 27, 1909), p. 100.
[68] See Chris Mourant, '"A Little Episode": The Forgotten Typescripts of Katherine Mansfield, 1908-11' in *Katherine Mansfield and the (Post)colonial*, ed. by Janet Wilson, Gerri Kimber, and Delia da Sousa Correa (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 154-66.

read the last two instalments of Hastings's novella, which makes it all the more remarkable that both writers independently arrived at the same narrative twist, ending their stories with the young female protagonist being betrayed by the cosmopolitan would-be lover and left to the institutionalised violence of a domineering husband.

Whilst it is highly possible that 'A Little Episode' was directly inspired by *Whited Sepulchres*, the notable similarity between the two stories instead highlights what Oliver Tearle has recently theorised as 'parafluence; that is, a convergent evolution of ideas' and modes of expression 'among contemporary like-minded thinkers and artists, which acknowledges the possibility of direct influence while at the same time remaining sceptical of any linear progression from one thinker to another'.[69] Like Nan, for example, Yvonne's life is mediated by 'Other Women': elder society ladies, Mrs Mason and Mrs Wood, who are portrayed as the cynical arbiters of English morality. The reader learns about Yvonne through the public dialogue of these two women, their voices 'full of withering contempt': after her father died in Paris, leaving her penniless at the age of seventeen, Yvonne was 'rescued' by her aunt and uncle, who took her to live with them in 'Manchester'. This detail is then echoed at the end of the story, when we see Jacques 'in his rooms at the Hotel Manchester'. With these two references to Manchester, Mansfield alludes to her own biography, which helps us to date the composition of 'A Little Episode'. When Mrs Beauchamp arrived in England on 27 May 1909 (the day on which the fifth instalment of *Whited Sepulchres* was published), she took her daughter to the hotel in Manchester Street, London, before they travelled on to Germany. In a story in which the character structure clearly parallels Mansfield's own biography (Yvonne / Mansfield, Geoffrey Mandeville / George Bowden, Jacques Saint Pierre / Garnet Trowell), Mansfield associates her mother with the unwelcome bourgeois relatives who 'rescue' the protagonist from her unconventional life of love and art. As such, we can

[69] Oliver Tearle, *T. E. Hulme and Modernism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 11.

confidently date the composition of 'A Little Episode' to the summer of 1909. Composed at roughly the same moment, *Whited Sepulchres* and 'A Little Episode' highlight a striking 'parafluence' between the writings of Hastings and Mansfield, who both responded to contemporary debates about the 'Woman Question' with stories based upon the same character structure, the same narrative twist, and the same thematic focus on female independence versus social convention, the entrapment of naive girls within marriage, and the advantage taken by men.

Mansfield began contributing to *The New Age* at the end of February 1910. From the beginning of that year, Hastings had been writing under a new pseudonym, 'D. Triformis', that allowed her to shift position considerably. 'D. Triformis' is far more critical of the suffragettes than 'Beatrice Tina', especially of the 'Liberal' women associated with the WSPU and its journal *Votes for Women*.[70] Whereas 'Beatrice Tina' had observed that if 'woman is the apostle of liberty she must also be the devotee of equality', 'D. Triformis' argues that 'it is not sufficient that a woman should claim mere equality with men. She must proclaim herself superior'.[71] Whereas 'Beatrice Tina' had voiced conditional support for suffrage militancy, 'D. Triformis' writes:

> We have the unusual spectacle, in the battle between the Suffragettes and the Government, of beholding each side attempting to coerce the other. It is time, in face of the inhumane aspect which the situation begins to bear, for the most reasonable and truly progressive section to cease, or at least to abandon, the use of force in favour of some line of action safer for the nation as a whole. Will that reasonable and progressive section prove to be the women?[72]

[70] D. Triformis [Hastings], 'A Fallacy behind the Militant Theory' in *New Age*, 6.14 (Feb. 3, 1910), p. 322.
[71] Beatrice Tina [Hastings], 'Are Women Anarchists?' in *New Age*, 4.20 (March 11, 1909), p. 398; D. Triformis [Hastings], 'Women and Literature' in *New Age*, 6.24 (April 14, 1910), p. 558.
[72] D. Triformis [Hastings], 'Militancy and Humanity' in *New Age*, 6.10 (Jan. 6, 1910), p. 225.

Writing as 'D. Triformis' also enabled Hastings to promote her earlier work. In the issue of *The New Age* containing Mansfield's second contribution to the periodical, an article by 'D. Triformis' made pointed reference to *Woman's Worst Enemy: Woman*, 'a much earlier pronouncement by the feminist, Beatrice Tina, protesting merely against the abuse of marriage, [that has] been officially boycotted and privately denounced'.[73] This highlights Hastings's self-identification – or, rather, her identification of an earlier self – as 'feminist'.

The Triformis / Tina exchange not only allowed Hastings to keep her earlier writings at the forefront of debate, reminding readers of its existence, but also enabled her to amend, revise, and retract earlier statements and to clarify her current position. For instance, 'D. Triformis' observes:

> When Miss Beatrice Tina wrote: "The militant suffragettes have saved us from the last ignominy of the slave – the obligation to give thanks for enfranchisement," she penned, though in a spirited style, one of the most foolish fancies of the average thoughtless woman. […] if we set our minds upon becoming free from within, we shall see that such epigrams, though fascinating, are untrue.[74]

This allowed for a response the following week from 'Beatrice (Tina) Hastings':

> I have no defence to make for my unlucky epigram. I admit that it is not true as it stands, and that the idea (unexpressed) in my mind at the time was certainly of "mental" freedom, and then I am bound to agree with D. Triformis that mental freedom must be gained by thought. I have learned a good deal from D. Triformis and I hope that I may learn more.[75]

Hastings reminds readers of her earlier work by suggesting that it has been systematically boycotted, complaining of the 'mercenary spirit among [the] so-called advanced women'

[73] D. Triformis [Hastings], 'Feminism and the Franchise' in *New Age*, 6.18 (March 3, 1910), p. 415.
[74] D. Triformis [Hastings], 'Women and Freedom' in *New Age*, 7.2 (May 12, 1910), pp. 29-30.
[75] Beatrice (Tina) Hastings [Hastings], 'Women and Freedom' in *New Age*, 7.3 (May 19, 1910), p. 69.

whom she has opposed: 'I have been killed out of the "advanced" movement. I now devote myself in the shades to art and humanitarianism'.[76] With the 'Beatrice Tina' mask now removed, Hastings subsequently used her own name to write articles promoting the 'humanitarian' campaign against capital punishment, whilst 'D. Triformis' continued to write about feminism and the suffrage movement.

In an article titled 'To your Posts, Feminists', mocking the rhetoric of suffrage militancy, 'D. Triformis' writes: 'The vote will make no woman free who is not individually free before she gets it. In the direction of cherishing individual freedom lies the work of true feminists'.[77] This is the consistent theme to Hastings's contributions to *The New Age* at this time. In an article titled 'Women and Freedom', for example, Hastings begins by quoting a contribution to *The Englishwoman* by the feminist and classical scholar Jane Harrison:

> We are humane so far as we are conscious or sensitive to the individual life. Patriotism is collective herd instinct, it is repression of individuality. You feel strongly because you feel alike, you are reinforced by the other homogeneous units, you sing the same song, you wave the same flag. Humanity is sympathy with infinite differences, with utter individualism, with complete differentiation, and it is only possible through the mystery of organic spiritual union.[78]

By quoting this passage to support her argument, Hastings claims that both the suffrage movement and patriotism suppress 'free personal choice in act and in thought' under homogeneity.[79] Like other critics of the WSPU, Hastings is here attacking the tactics and autocratic structure of the Union, emphasising instead the importance of wider feminist debate and individual thought. At this time, Hastings loathed the WSPU for its quantitative

[76] Ibid.
[77] D. Triformis [Hastings], 'To your Posts, Feminists' in *New Age*, 8.16 (Feb. 16, 1911), p. 368.
[78] Jane Harrison, quoted in D. Triformis [Hastings], 'Women and Freedom' in *New Age*, 7.2 (May 12, 1910), p. 29.
[79] Ibid.

logic, arguing that success was invariably measured by numbers of people and money. This logic, she claimed, suppressed individuality under the 'collective herd instinct': 'Mobs do not believe in the way of reason; they believe in noise and banners and the power of money'.[80] In contrast, Hastings believed that '[i]ndividuals, people who know themselves, are neither content to be herded nor to be the leaders of herds'.[81] I quote the following passage at length because it neatly encapsulates Hastings's concept of individualist, renegade feminism:

> Physical freedom may well march around and wave a flag, dancing for very joy of unchained limbs. Released convicts and slaves fittingly breathe deep and set off somewhere at a run. But mental freedom is a different thing and has different attributes, inward and invisible, corresponding to the outward and visible matter of its advent. Physical freedom may be given from without. Mental freedom must be begotten from within. Thought begets it; and its only outward evidence is personal choice – a happy, but never a noisy, thing. The woman who is mentally free, knowing how imperceptible is the evolution of this freedom, knows, also, that to try and impart the free mind to a person who wants still to be shouting and waving a flag would be of as much use as to fasten a wing upon a lizard and bid it be a bird and fly.[82]

Hastings writes: 'all the slavery we endure we endure because our minds are not free. When we think freely we shall choose freely, we shall act freely'.[83] Moreover, by quoting Harrison, Hastings clearly equates the flag-waving patriot and the marching suffragette. This suggests a revision to the earlier rhetoric of communal, state-led, national eugenics promoted in *Woman's Worst Enemy: Woman*: now, Hastings implies that patriotism and nationalism exemplify the same 'repression of individuality' as the suffrage movement.

Writing in her journal in May 1908, Mansfield also expressed the belief that women were 'firmly held with the self-fashioned chains of slavery': chains that 'must be self-

[80] Hastings, 'Women and Freedom' in *New Age*, 7.2 (May 12, 1910), p. 29.
[81] Ibid. 30.
[82] Ibid. 29.
[83] Ibid.

removed' through 'happiness and freedom'.[84] New Zealand had been the first country to extend the vote to women, but Mansfield writes that talk of 'our emancipated country' is 'pure nonsense!'[85] She observes: 'It is the hopelessly insipid doctrine that love is the only thing in the world, taught, hammered into women, from generation to generation, which hampers us so cruelly'.[86] To 'get rid of that bogey', she writes, women must embrace '[i]ndependence, resolve, firm purpose, and the gift of discrimination, *mental cleverness*' and 'individuality'.[87] These ideas are strikingly similar to those advanced by Hastings: both writers stress that women are responsible for their own emancipation, which is to be gained not with the vote but through mental freedom, individuality, and a disregard for generational doctrine. This journal entry by Mansfield, as such, reveals a remarkable 'parafluence' between her ideas and the 'individualist feminism' promoted by Hastings in *The New Age*.

In the next section of this chapter, whilst acknowledging the possibility of direct influence from Hastings to Mansfield, I want to stress the *convergence* between the work of these two writers, and the way in which each illuminates the other. Clare Hanson and Andrew Gurr have suggested that Hastings exercised a direct influence upon Mansfield's work, helping to edit and shape her stories: 'It seems likely that many of the stories were first sketched out in Bavaria, and some even completed, but that most underwent considerable revision under the guiding hand of Beatrice Hastings before they were published'.[88] This seems entirely likely. On occasions, for example, Mansfield's stories directly and self-consciously echo Hastings's writings, as when the narrator of 'Frau Fischer' boldly declares: '"I consider child-bearing the most ignominious of professions"', a direct echo of a passage

[84] *Journal*, p. 37.
[85] Ibid. 36-7.
[86] Ibid. 37.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Clare Hanson and Andrew Gurr, *Katherine Mansfield* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1981), p. 31.

from *Woman's Worst Enemy: Woman*.[89] However, direct influence from Hastings to Mansfield cannot be proved with any certainty; indeed, as the extracts from the 1908 journal highlight, Mansfield independently arrived at very similar notions to Hastings before her arrival in London. Instead, examining the intersections between the writings of these two women allows us to trace a convergent evolution of ideas and modes of expression, in which 'mental freedom' is privileged above 'physical freedom' and the 'collective herd instinct' is contrasted with female 'individuality'. Situating Mansfield's early writings within the original historical contexts of publication, as such, enables us to recognise the political resonance these stories would have had to her contemporary readers.

The 'Pension Sketches'

Mansfield's first contribution to *The New Age*, published on 24 February 1910 and titled 'Bavarian Babies: The Child-Who-Was-Tired', was a free transposition of a story by Anton Chekhov titled 'Spat Khochetsia' that had been published in English translation as 'Sleepyhead' in 1903. This first contribution immediately announced affinities between the writings of Mansfield and Hastings: like *Whited Sepulchres*, Mansfield's story is resolutely anti-maternal, focusing on the terror surrounding a screaming, unmanageable child. The 'Frau' of the story, for instance, complains that her '"insides are all twisted up from having children too quickly"' and her servant girl, on learning of another baby on the way, thinks:

> "Another baby! Hasn't she finished having them *yet*?" thought the Child. "Two babies getting eye teeth – two babies to get up for in the night – two babies to carry about and wash their little piggy clothes!" She looked with horror at the one in her arms, who, seeming to

[89] (29) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 159.

> understand the contemptuous loathing of her tired glance, doubled his fists, stiffened his body, and began violently screaming.[90]

The story ends with the servant girl smothering the baby to death as she attempts to stifle its violent screaming so that she can sleep.

Subsequently, between March 1910 and June 1911, Mansfield contributed a series of short stories to *The New Age* that can be divided into two kinds of narrative. First, stories that were sporadically designated within the periodical as 'Pension Sketches', narrated either in the first or third person but always focusing on the same semi-autobiographical protagonist, a young woman travelling alone and 'taking the cure' in a Bavarian spa town. These stories include 'Germans at Meat', 'The Baron', 'The Luft Bad', 'The Sister of the Baroness', 'Frau Fischer', and 'The Modern Soul'. These travel sketches found a welcome place in *The New Age*, a periodical which regularly featured travelogue articles, such as Bart Kennedy's 'A Continental Trip', which appeared weekly from October 1909, the 'American Notes' by the pseudonymous 'Juvenal' serialised in 1910, and the 'Letters from Abroad' by Huntly Carter published in 1911. The other stories by Mansfield are all narrated in the third person, do not have a shared protagonist, and instead depict the communal life of the Bavarian town. These include 'At "Lehmann's"', 'Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding', and 'A Birthday'.

These three communal stories all develop the critique of marriage and maternity first outlined in 'Bavarian Babies'. In 'At "Lehmann's"', for instance, youthful innocence is exposed as dangerous ignorance: 'She knew practically nothing except that the Frau had a baby inside her, which had to come out – very painful indeed. […] Birth – what was it? wondered Sabina'.[91] In this story, Mansfield critiques the way in which society perpetuates ignorance about sex and childbirth among girls, establishing a stark juxtaposition at the

[90] (19) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 159.
[91] (25) *Fictions*, vol. 1, pp. 179-80.

story's climax between romantic naivety and the harsh, physical reality of maternity. Similarly, 'Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding' depicts the social conventions of marriage as coercive and alludes to the violence of sexual initiation and rape within marriage. Lastly, 'A Birthday' satirises essentialist views of gender, depicting the threatened masculinity of a bourgeois man as he waits for the birth of his first son.

The 'Pension Sketches' are distinguished from these rather bleak stories by their witty and irreverent central protagonist. In contrast to the other pension guests, who live out an institutionalised parasitism of enforced inactivity and are 'dressed like upholstered chairs' (an echo of Mansfield's description of the 'women who looked like very badly upholstered chairs' at the suffrage meeting she attended in September 1908), the female narrator embraces the liberties of solitary travel and consistently asserts her own freedom and intellectual independence, refusing to be defined either by her body or the predetermined gender roles of matrimony and maternity.[92] In these sketches, the procreative, female body is shown to be a symbolic site used within public discourse to guarantee the health and security of the nation. As Anne Fernihough has argued, '[t]he "I" of the *Pension* sketches is threatening because it is precisely that: a self, as opposed to a vehicle for racial progress or an appendage to the bourgeois male'.[93] In particular, the narrator's status as a national alien marks her out as eccentric, living outside national imaginaries and independently from existing social structures: for instance, she is described by her fellow pension guests as '"the stranger in our midst"' and elsewhere reflects: 'I felt a little crushed […] at the tone – placing one outside the pale – branding me as a foreigner'.[94] This status as 'outsider', 'foreigner', and 'stranger' is fundamentally empowering, however, enabling the protagonist to occupy an

[92] (35) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 217.
[93] Anne Fernihough, 'Introduction' in Katherine Mansfield, *In a German Pension*, ed. by Anne Fernihough (London: Penguin, 1999), p. xix.
[94] (35 and 27) *Fictions*, vol. 1, pp. 215; 190.

uncomfortable yet subversive, disruptive position from which to quietly critique the public discourse linking gender and race, motherhood and imperialism.

In particular, the narrator's evasive and ironic asides consistently articulate this quiet critique. In the story 'Germans at Meat', for instance, the protagonist repeatedly interrupts the explicit descriptions about consumption, excretion, and pregnancy made by her fellow diners, who pick their teeth with hairpins, blow on their soup, and eat around large potatoes as they talk. In this story, the excessive physicality and corporeality of the protagonist's fellow diners is connected to an aggressive expansionism of both the bourgeois family and the German Empire: excessive eating (particularly of meat) guarantees the birth rate of the nation and its military strength. This connection is made explicit by the 'Widow' character when she tells the vegetarian protagonist: 'Who ever heard of having children upon vegetables? It is not possible'.[95] When the 'Widow' asks the protagonist what her husband's favourite meat is, her ignorance elicits this response:

> "But you cannot be in earnest! You would not have kept house as his wife for a week without knowing that fact. […] No wonder there is a repetition in England of that dreadful state of things in Paris," said the Widow, folding her dinner napkin, "how can a woman expect to keep her husband if she does not know his favourite food after three years!"[96]

In this story, eating meat and giving birth guarantee the health of the nation as a family unit, and it is the woman's role to ensure this as wife and mother. With pride, for example, the 'Widow' tells of how she has had nine '[f]ine, healthy babies' and recounts:

> "A friend of mine had four at the same time. Her husband was so pleased he gave a supper party and had them placed on the table. Of course she was very proud."

[95] (21) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 166.
[96] Ibid. 167.

> "Germany," boomed the Traveller, biting round a potato which he had speared with his knife, "is the home of the Family."[97]

This image of four babies placed on the family dining table of Germany suggests national cannibalism. Mansfield is here satirising the utilitarianism of the eugenic theories espoused in *The New Age*, in which citizens were viewed as mere resources to be consumed by the nation. Moreover, the character Herr Rat describes the British army as '"a few little boys with their veins full of nicotine poisoning"', an allusion to the high level of rejection of British recruits to the Boer War on the grounds of ill-health, a recurring subject for much anxiety in *The New Age* about Britain's ability to fight an impending European conflict.[98]

Against these contexts of nervousness about national strength, the protagonist's position as a foreign, vegetarian, and childless woman travelling alone all mark her as an 'outsider' in Germany and target for national competition. At the beginning of the story, for instance, Herr Rat, who boasts that he has '"had all I wanted from women without marriage"' as he tucks 'his napkin into his collar', fixes his eyes on the protagonist with a look that suggests both the threat of military invasion and the sexual threat of rape, a look that contains his voracious appetite for both women and land: 'He fixed his cold blue eyes upon Kathleen with an expression which suggested a thousand premeditated invasions'.[99] As such, the protagonist's body becomes a symbolic site for national contest and conquest, as when Mansfield makes the subtle but pointed transitions from 'England' to 'her' to 'you': '"Don't be afraid," Herr Hoffmann said. "We don't want England. If we did we would have had her long ago. We really do not want you."'[100] 'Germans at Meat' highlights how the white, middle-class, procreative female body serves to stabilise the imaginary borders of the nation and facilitate the expansion of empire: the pregnant body of the wife and mother guarantees

[97] Ibid. 166.
[98] Ibid. 167.
[99] Ibid. 165.
[100] Ibid. 167.

national strength, whereas the body of the independent, childless woman is seen as a target in the competition between militaristic nations. The protagonist's consistent refusal to conform to the expectations of her fellow diners, therefore, positions her as a vulnerable target at the same time as it highlights her robust refusal to be co-opted into the logic of a public discourse connecting maternity and nationhood, motherhood and imperialism.

This connection between the body and nation, and between physicality and imperialist expansion, is a recurring theme throughout the 'Pension Sketches'. In 'The Modern Soul', for example, the German characters describe England as '"merely an island of beef swimming in a warm gulf sea of gravy"': the nation is merely something to be consumed by the German Empire.[101] In 'Frau Fischer', likewise, the title character lets it be known how much she 'enjoy[s] discussing the functions of the body' and, in patriotic devotion, sleeps under a picture of the Kaiser.[102] Frau Fischer delights in the idea that marriages 'make the happy family bigger' and extols the virtues of having '"[h]andfuls of babies"', telling the childless narrator that '"that is what you are really in need of"'.[103] The narrator responds by declaring that she regards '"child-bearing the most ignominious of professions"' and that she in fact likes '"empty beds"', contrary to Frau Fischer's notion that an empty bed '"is like widowhood"'.[104] Predominantly, however, the narrator rebuffs Frau Fischer by being evasive or simply lying: when she squeezes her hand at the end of the story, the narrator doesn't squeeze back; and, after telling Frau Fischer the improbable fiction that her husband is 'a sea-captain on a long and perilous voyage' and subsequently enduring Frau Fischer's unwelcome advice, the narrator finally resolves to 'wreck my virgin conception and send him down somewhere off Cape Horn'.[105] Mansfield's protagonist stages a silent rebellion against Frau

[101] (35) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 216.
[102] (29) *Fictions*, vol. 1, pp. 194-5.
[103] Ibid. 198.
[104] Ibid. 197.
[105] Ibid. 197-8.

Fischer, retaining her independence through her freedom of thought. In this sense, the narrator embodies the 'thinking' woman celebrated by Hastings, opposed to the unthinking, conventional 'Other Woman': like Hastings, Mansfield suggests that the only outward evidence of this 'mental freedom' is 'personal choice – a happy, *but never a noisy*, thing'.

Similarly, the protagonist in 'The Luft Bad' refuses to yield to the strong social pressure to define herself in physical terms. A woman who performs the dance from *Salome* before excitedly telling everyone how she is '"perspiring so splendidly"' and another who proudly announces how she lives '"entirely on raw vegetables and nuts"' surround the protagonist, who evades questions about her national identity by climbing on to a swing and experiencing a brief but immediate, stimulating moment of psychological freedom:

> "Are you an American?" said the Vegetable Lady, turning to me.
>
> "No."
>
> "Then you are an Englishwoman?"
>
> "Well, hardly – "
>
> "You must be one of the two; you cannot help it. I have seen you walking alone several times. You wear your – "
>
> I got up and climbed on to the swing. The air was sweet and cool, rushing past my body. Above, white clouds trailed delicately through the blue sky. From the pine forests streamed a wild perfume, and the branches swayed together, rhythmically, sonorously. I felt so light and free and happy – so childish! I wanted to poke my tongue out at the circle on the grass, who, drawing close together, were whispering meaningly.[106]

Mansfield's protagonist refuses to be defined by her body or what she eats. Instead, her mental freedom and her 'organic union' with nature (to echo the quotation from Harrison used by Hastings) enables the protagonist to quite literally rise above the circle of

[106] (23) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 177.

socialisation below, the homogeneous 'Other Women' defined entirely through their physicality. Significantly, this moment of 'mental freedom' follows the protagonist's refusal to unequivocally state her nationality: her freedom arises out of the tensions of this ambiguity, this national indeterminacy and non-place between 'England' and 'America'. In other words, the protagonist occupies a disruptive, liminal position that threatens the public discourse linking the procreative, female body to national identity and racial stability.

The deliberately ambiguous national identity of the protagonist highlights her position as an uncanny and ambivalent presence throughout the 'Pension Sketches'. This ambivalence is enacted at the level of form in several instances of linguistic uncertainty and failed translation that draw attention to the cultural positionality of each enunciation. As Andrew Harrison has examined, the 'Pension Sketches' highlight 'the uncanny nature of written and spoken language' by concentrating on 'the uncanny potential of mixed languages, erratic voices and ambiguous expressions', 'the discomforting effects created when languages coalesce', and the 'surreal quality' generated by transliteration.[107] For instance, 'The Baron' closes with a satirical distortion of a Latin phrase from Thomas à Kempis ('O quam cito transit gloria mundi' becomes 'Sic transit Gloria German mundi'), and 'The Sister of the Baroness' ends with a composite French-Italian phrase ('Tableau grandissimo!').[108] Similarly, the German version of a child's counting rhyme ('eena-deena-dina-do') is used in 'The Sister of the Baroness' instead of the familiar English equivalent ('eenie-meenie-minie-mo'), which creates a disorientating effect for Mansfield's English readers.[109] Likewise, descriptions made by the other pension guests of their regular spa routines become ridiculous when translated literally into English, such as the '"overbody" washing' made by Fräulein

[107] Andrew Harrison, 'Ambivalence, Language and the Uncanny in Katherine Mansfield's *In a German Pension*' in *Katherine Mansfield and the Fantastic*, ed. by Delia da Sousa Correa, Gerri Kimber, Susan Reid, and Gina Wisker (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 52; 57.
[108] (22 and 27) *Fictions*, vol. 1, pp. 175; 193.
[109] (27) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 190.

Stiegelauer in 'Germans at Meat'.[110] Similarly, in 'At "Lehmann's"', the archaic Bavarian euphemism used to describe a woman's confinement before childbirth, a euphemism that only perpetuates Sabrina's ignorance about such matters, is literalised into English ('Sie ist nach Rom gereist' becomes 'She is on a journey to Rome').[111] As Harrison notes, this technique of transliteration in the story serves to 'lift the romantic veil shrouding maternity'.[112] Exposing the process of societal euphemism in this way, transliteration in the story serves to underscore Mansfield's feminist political critique. In each case, however, as Harrison suggests, linguistic uncertainty throughout the 'Pension Sketches' creates a sense of the *unheimlich*, or the uncanny. Etymologically, *unheimlich* is the opposite of *heimlich* (homely) and *heimisch* (native). In other words, the protagonist's status as 'outsider' and 'foreigner' is also enacted at the level of form, in the linguistic hybridity and uncertainty that runs throughout the 'Pension Sketches'. In Bhabha's terms, linguistic difference in the 'Pension Sketches' exposes how the production of meaning is necessarily heteroglossic and the act of interpretation is always founded upon an ambivalence and disjunction between the subject of a proposition and the subject of enunciation: this ambivalence 'quite properly challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force' and challenges 'hierarchical claims to the inherent originality or "purity" of cultures'.[113] In other words, the *unheimlich* quality of the 'Pension Sketches' serves to challenge the imaginary borders of national identity and integrity, introducing elements of cultural hybridity and heterogeneity. In particular, this relates to the public discourse linking motherhood and imperialism as Mansfield critiques the eugenicist principles of national and racial 'purity'. By translating her experience as 'outsider' in England into the identifiably

[110] (21) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 165.
[111] (25) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 179.
[112] Harrison, p. 57.
[113] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 54-5.

'foreign' setting of Germany, then, Mansfield encourages her reader to enter an 'other' space where 'the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity'.[114]

As well as overtly critiquing the idea of a 'pure' national and racial identity in the 'Pension Sketches', Mansfield, like Hastings, also sought to expose apparently 'advanced' or 'modern' women as in fact highly retrograde and conformist throughout her contributions to *The New Age*. In this sense, these early stories anticipate Mansfield's later, more celebrated critiques of 'advanced' social groups, as in the stories 'Bliss' and 'Marriage à la Mode'. In 'The Modern Soul', for example, Sonia Godowska likes to think of herself as '"curiously sapphic"' and incredibly modern, but then reveals how she '"think[s] the only solution lies in marriage"'.[115] Similarly, in 'At the Club' (a sketch that bears a striking resemblance to Hastings's 'A Modern Bacchante'), Mansfield depicts a club ironically named the 'Advanced', in which copies of *Votes for Women* are strewn across tables and the women gossip and discuss the 'Woman Question', talk which is shown to be anathema to real action. In particular, Mansfield parodies the rhetoric of suffrage militancy in this sketch: '"sex is the only weapon we've got"' one woman says, and then: '"Men can choose to realise it nor not, but we're on the battlefield as surely as they are"'.[116] In the same issue of the periodical, a story by Mansfield titled 'A Marriage of Passion' satirises the social conventions of marriage: the name of the central married couple, Mr and Mrs 'De Voted', not only mocks the idea of romantic love but also explicitly connects this to support for the suffrage, for the 'vote'.[117] Likewise, 'The Mating of Gwendolyn' (a story of disputed authorship that is often attributed to Mansfield) mocks the institution of marriage as a financial transaction driven by necessity.[118] In this way, Mansfield's contributions to *The New Age* served to augment

[114] Ibid. 55.
[115] (35) *Fictions*, vol. 1, pp. 219-20.
[116] (44) *Fictions*, vol. 1, pp. 266-8.
[117] (43) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 261.
[118] (42) *Fictions*, vol. 2, pp. 519-22.

Hastings's feminist critique, exposing apparently 'modern' and 'advanced' women to be conventional, traditional, or simply misguided in their approaches to issues of gender.

In her contributions to *The New Age*, Mansfield also looked to expose how the suffrage movement repressed female individuality. In the summer of 1911, after the 'Pension Sketches' set in Bavaria had all been published, Mansfield travelled to Bruges and Geneva, escaping the stifling heat of London in order to recover from a serious attack of pleurisy. The two stories she sent back to London to be printed in *The New Age* were based upon this experience of travel, 'The Journey to Bruges' and 'Being a Truthful Adventure'.[119] In the same issue of the periodical in which 'The Luft Bad' had been published in March 1910, Francis Grierson had observed:

> The bane of the modern travelling world is to be found in the tendency to see people, climate, countries, and art through someone's tinted spectacles, and, above all, by the aid of someone's guide-book. Italy has suffered more than any other country from the guide-book pest. Few sightseers are able to give you a vivid personal impression of people and things in this country.[120]

This contrast between the 'guide book pest' and 'vivid personal impression' provides the oppositional thrust to 'Being a Truthful Adventure'. After quickly realising that the descriptions of her guidebook will never match the intensity of her own perception of things, the narrator of the story meets an old school friend, Betty, who gushes enthusiastically about '"the Suffrage"' and the '"future of woman"' as ardently as she describes '"the quaint streets and the Continental smells"' of Bruges, a litany of the city's delights attained second-hand from the 'familiar guide book' that her husband carries in his pocket.[121] As Lee Garver has

[119] The three sketches published in *The Blue Review* ('Epilogue: Pension Seguin', 'Epilogue: II' and 'Epilogue: III. Bains Turcs') are also drawn from Mansfield's experience in Geneva.
[120] Francis Grierson, 'Impressions of Italy' in *New Age*, 6.21 (March 24, 1910), p. 491.
[121] (39) *Fictions*, vol. 1, pp. 233-4.

argued, Mansfield here connects the delegation of individual perception to the 'tinted spectacles' of the guidebook with the devolution of female agency to the organised politics of the suffrage movement.[122] In contrast to Betty, who is married with a child and fails to see how her independence is undermined by her continual use of the first person plural, the protagonist of the story expresses her feminism through individual acts of defiance, refusing to be bound either by a husband or by collectivist politics. After having her perception of the city mediated by a boatman who insists on pointing out bridges and house fronts, for instance, she abandons the boat at the first opportunity by crawling under a fence into a meadow, preferring to sit alone under a tree watching a group of artists painting and 'the swifts wheel and dip in the bright air'.[123] As in 'The Luft Bad', therefore, the protagonist of 'Being a Truthful Adventure' transcends the 'collective herd' by asserting her intellectual independence and embracing the 'organic union' with nature. Like Hastings, Mansfield here emphasises the importance of perceptual immediacy, of that which is 'inward and invisible' and 'must be begotten from within', of that which is inexplicable to those who want 'still to be shouting and waving a flag'. As such, Mansfield's protagonist does not feel the need to explain her own beliefs to Betty and her husband, and instead evades their questions by shaking her head, sighing, and biting her lip. In this story, therefore, Mansfield suggests that the suffrage movement represents a 'collective herd instinct' that suppresses female individuality, independent resolve, and mental freedom.

In an article written as 'D. Triformis' titled 'Women and Literature', Hastings argued: 'Ideas form style'.[124] Whilst Mansfield openly challenged the eugenicist ideas of national health advanced by Hastings, the political emphasis on the free and dissenting individual that I have termed here 'renegade feminism' helped Mansfield to form a recognisably 'modernist'

[122] Garver, 'The Political Katherine Mansfield', p. 237.
[123] (39) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 233.
[124] Hastings, 'Women and Literature', p. 558.

style of literary impressionism in her fiction: in particular, the feminist emphasis on the 'inward and invisible' and on 'mental freedom' generated a related shift in her literary aesthetic towards perceptual immediacy and spiritual liberation. This is evident in such stories as 'The Luft Bad', in which the protagonist experiences a spiritually liberating moment on the swing, and 'The Journey to Bruges', a story that opens *in medias res* and refuses to cohere to the conventions of linear narrative, instead presenting the reader with a flux of sensory experience, a disorientating assemblage of various characters and snippets of overheard conversation. As Garver suggests, Mansfield 'exhibits a close affinity' with 'modernist compatriots' in *The New Age* such as T. E. Hulme and Ezra Pound, 'who argued that reality lay in the immediate flux of sensory appearance and not in a rational, conceptual order beyond it'.[125] More specifically, however, we can see how the emphasis within contemporary feminist political analysis on 'the free mind' generated a related shift from the aesthetics of realism, with its focus on materiality and the objective, to a modernist aesthetics of impressionism and perceptual immediacy.

This shift informed the piece Mansfield and Hastings co-authored together for *The New Age* in 1911, a collection of seven short parodies of famous Edwardian writers titled 'A P.S.A.' (initials standing for 'A Pleasant Sunday Afternoon').[126] The first is a parody of Bart Kennedy's many travelogues in *The New Age*, highlighting that Mansfield was aware of this series and suggesting that Kennedy's writings probably shaped Mansfield's own use of the travelogue genre. The last is a parody of H. G. Wells. When Wells published his novel about the 'New Woman', *Ann Veronica*, Hastings reviewed it for *The New Age*, writing that the novel was 'proof that men can only write of women from the outside'.[127] In 'A P.S.A.', Mansfield and Hastings ridicule Wells for the conventional and thoroughly male perspective

[125] Garver, 'The Political Katherine Mansfield', p. 235.
[126] (34) *Writings*, pp. 387-91.
[127] [Hastings], 'Ann Veronica' in *New Age*, 5.25 (Oct. 14, 1909), p. 447.

that underpins his purportedly radical focus on biology and sex. They also parody Arnold Bennett's many novels about the Potteries, satirising his lengthy, realist descriptions and his focus on minute material detail. Almost a decade before Virginia Woolf would take these Edwardian writers to task in her famous essays 'Modern Novels' and 'Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown', therefore, Mansfield and Hastings were making a claim for a new type of fiction, questioning the nature of 'reality' and the ways in which writing should best represent it.

In 'Women and Literature', Hastings argued that 'women have no tradition worth calling intellectual' and 'if we wish to create works of imagination we must first have knowledge of life to preserve us from sentimentalism and false ideals'.[128] Together, Mansfield and Hastings sought to initiate a new literary tradition, founded upon the political ideas of renegade feminism. This ambition is reflected in Hastings's novel from 1911, *The Maids' Comedy: A Chivalric Romance in Thirteen Chapters*, an imaginative rewriting of *Don Quixote* from the female perspective that was serialised in *The New Age*. This picaresque novel follows two 'Damsels errant', characters that Hastings's biographer Stephen Gray has observed are 'free women, independent-minded and mannered, [and] obviously based on Mansfield and [Hastings]'.[129]

In conclusion, therefore, situating Mansfield's first contributions to *The New Age* against the political ideas advanced by Hastings counters the assumption that her early work was in some way politically naive or disengaged: the striking convergence or 'parafluence' between the work of these two writers at this time reveals an identifiable set of political beliefs constituted in opposition to the suffrage movement and the contemporary cult of motherhood. Both writers believed that women were responsible for their own freedom, which was to be gained through strength of will, personal resolve, mental cleverness, and

[128] Hastings, 'Women and Literature', p. 558.
[129] [Hastings], 'The Maids' Comedy' in *New Age*, 8.8 (Dec. 22, 1910), p. 181; Gray, 'Beatrice Hastings' in *Free-Lancers and Literary Biography in South Africa* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), p. 66.

individuality. In Mansfield's case, in particular, this 'renegade feminism' served to disrupt a public discourse connecting gender and race, motherhood and imperialism: the 'outsider' status of her travelling, semi-autobiographical female protagonist provides an empowering, subversive position from which to articulate her disruptive social critique of the imagined national community. The 'Pension Sketches' are often mistakenly interpreted as consciously positioned within *The New Age* as 'British anti-invasion literature', caricaturing Germans, stoking 'national paranoia' about the military threat to Britain, and thereby anticipating the national prejudices that proliferated during the First World War.[130] Anti-German feeling was certainly rife within the pages of *The New Age*, as evidenced by J. M. Kennedy's serialised reports on 'Foreign Affairs' that appeared from May 1910, and Mansfield must have been aware that her stories would have found a ready readership. Despite this, as Delia da Sousa Correa has observed, 'Mansfield showed no sign of endorsing such sentiments herself'.[131] At the height of anti-German feeling in Britain in 1915, for instance, Mansfield wrote: 'there's no difference between England and Germany when the mob gets a hand in things – No difference between any nation on earth – They are all equally loathsome'.[132] In the 'Pension Sketches', Mansfield is ridiculing a set of class beliefs, rather than any single nation. Translating her own 'outsider' status in England into the contexts of bourgeois Germany, Mansfield's contributions to *The New Age* emphasise the borderline engagements of cultural difference, revealed through travel, that unsettle the ideological manoeuvres upon which the imagined national community is constituted. As an independent woman of indeterminate nationality, the protagonist of the 'Pension Sketches' continually disrupts the 'mob' narrative of the bourgeois, militaristic nation, as revealed through the linguistic ambivalence of her

[130] Isobel Maddison, 'Mansfield's "Writing Game" and World War One' in *Katherine Mansfield and World War One*, ed. by Isobel Maddison and Alice Kelly (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), pp. 42; 51.
[131] Delia da Sousa Correa, 'Katherine Mansfield's Germany: "these pine trees provide most suitable accompaniment for a trombone!"' in *Katherine Mansfield and Continental Europe*, ed. by Janka Kascakova and Gerri Kimber (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 102.
[132] *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 190.

narrative. Refusing to yield to social pressures to define herself through her physicality, in particular, the protagonist instead asserts her independence and 'mental freedom'. As travel narratives, moreover, the 'Pension Sketches' foreground the protagonist's freedom to transgress borders, defying the confined 'domestic' and 'natural' roles of wife and mother, roles that secure the imagined borders of the nation. As such, Mansfield's first contributions to *The New Age* both evoke and erase the contemporary idea of the procreative female body as a site that guarantees racial stability and national strength. These sketches were not prescient war stories of British nationalism, then, but directly responded to and destabilised a contemporary public discourse linking gender and race, motherhood and imperialism: these early contributions to *The New Age* did not seek to stoke national competition, but rather served to satirise and subvert the gender politics upon which such competition was premised.

'Bites from the Apple'

My interest in Hastings and the potential influence that she exercised in the development of Mansfield's writing began when I started exploring the history of a mid twentieth-century magazine titled *Adam International Review*, in which the editor, Miron Grindea, had conducted extensive research into the lives of both writers throughout the 1960s. This magazine is discussed in further detail in the last chapter of this thesis. It was whilst examining the archive collection for *Adam International Review* that I found a file of previously unknown and unpublished writings by Mansfield, all in typescript, including 'A Little Episode' and a collection of fifty aphorisms titled 'Bites from the Apple'.[133]

[133] Appendix III.

The University of Texas holds an incomplete, three-page typescript of 'Bites from the Apple' that is signed by Mansfield and dated 1911. A letter sent to Grindea from Ida Baker, Mansfield's lifelong friend and companion, appears to corroborate this date of composition. Responding to a request from Grindea for information about Hastings, Baker wrote, rather ungenerously: 'Don't be influenced by anything she [Hastings] says or rather said. She was connected with "Bites from an apple" [sic] and the "German Pension" period'.[134] This letter not only suggests that 'Bites from the Apple' was written in 1911, but also allows us to infer that these aphorisms were composed under the guiding hand of Hastings and were intended for publication in *The New Age*.

It has long been recognised that Wilde's aphorisms exerted a profound influence in the development of Mansfield's early opinions about art and life in 1906 and 1907. What has not been appreciated, however, is the importance of the aphoristic for Mansfield in later years. This section of the chapter positions 'Bites from the Apple' within the contexts of its intended publication venue, *The New Age*, illuminating the significance of the aphorism form not just for Mansfield but also for her immediate contemporaries in 1911. In particular, this section of the chapter examines how Mansfield's aphorisms respond to ideas of 'classicism' advanced within *The New Age* and, secondly, how Mansfield looked to make a feminist intervention within established modes of discourse by adopting the aphorism form.

As a regular contributor to *The New Age*, Mansfield would have been well aware and no doubt intimately acquainted with the three short books Orage published immediately before becoming editor of the periodical: *Friedrich Nietzsche, the Dionysian Spirit of the Age* (1906), *Consciousness: Animal, Human and Superman* (1907), and *Nietzsche in Outline and Aphorism* (1907). The first book provides an introductory survey to the life and ideas of

[134] King's College London Archive (KC/ADAM/FIL/50)

Nietzsche, with each section of the book prefaced by a selection of his aphorisms. About these, Orage writes:

> Out of the oppressive thunder-cloud of his thought come shooting at every moment splendidly bright aphorisms like forked lightening; they are his thunderbolts carefully forged and shaped and sharpened. It is as an aphorist that he will live in literature even should an emancipated Europe forget her moral warriors.[135]

In the third book, each section of explanatory notes by Orage is supplemented with a selection of Nietzsche's aphorisms, grouped thematically under titles such as 'Life' or 'Man and Woman', and Orage quotes Nietzsche's observation that aphorism and sentence 'are the forms of eternity'.[136] Orage was first introduced to Nietzsche's work in a Leeds bookshop when he met Holbrook Jackson, who lent him *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. Financed by money from George Bernard Shaw and M. D. Eder, Orage and Jackson became editors of *The New Age* together in 1907 (Orage becoming sole editor with the second volume); as such, it was Nietzsche that was one of the guiding spirits for the re-launched periodical.

For the first five years under Orage's editorship, as David Thatcher has observed, 'Nietzsche's name is hardly absent' from the pages of *The New Age*.[137] The fifth issue of the periodical, for instance, contains a poem that begins with this Nietzschean prophecy:

> Soon will dawn the day of wonder,
> When, with many-footed thunder,
> Comes the fresh god, trampling under
> All the dead and outworn things.[138]

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[135] A. R. Orage, *Friedrich Nietzsche, the Dionysian Spirit of the Age* (Edinburgh; London: T. N. Foulis, 1906), pp. 14-15.
[136] Orage, *Nietzsche in Outline and Aphorism* (Edinburgh; London: T. N. Foulis, 1907), p. 5.
[137] David Thatcher, *Nietzsche in England, 1890-1914: The Growth of a Reputation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 235.
[138] Frederick Richardson, 'The New Dionysos' in *New Age*, 1.5 (May 30, 1907), p. 74.

Indeed, there quickly followed a flood of 'Dionysian spirits' to the pages of *The New Age*. After reading Oscar Levy's book *The Revival of Aristocracy* (1906), for instance, Orage invited him to become a contributor to the periodical. Levy was then embarking upon the complete translation of Nietzsche's work into English, published between 1909 and 1913, and he brought with him to the periodical a group of translators and enthusiasts of Nietzsche's work, including J. M. Kennedy, who became a regular contributor to the 'Foreign Affairs' column under the pseudonym 'S. Verdad' (a play on the Spanish 'es verdad': 'it is true'), and Anthony Ludovici, who made his name in *The New Age* as an art critic in the years 1913-14.[139] The immediate impact of this Nietzschean influence can be registered by Edwin Muir's translations of sections from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* into English, contributed to the periodical in the autumn of 1907.[140]

Nietzsche's philosophical ideas permeate the pages of *The New Age*, and so too does his epigrammatic writing style, evident everywhere in the pithy turns of phrase that punctuate longer articles, as well as in the repeated publication of aphorisms. In December 1909, for instance, the periodical printed aphorisms by Nietzsche translated by Kennedy; in July 1910, Francis Grierson published his 'Meditations and Reflections' directly alongside contributions by Mansfield; in September, Hastings contributed a collection of aphorisms under the title 'Epigrammata'; and between March and April 1911, *The New Age* serialised Kennedy's translations of aphorisms by Niccolo Machiavelli and Alfred Guinon. As Alpers notes, Orage 'had a turn for epigram, and a taste for the balanced phrase'.[141] In 1913, in a piece titled 'The Epigram' and written in dialogue form, Muir satirically observed:

[139] Others include Francis Bickley, Paul V. Cohn, Thomas Common, Maximilian A. Mugge, Herman Scheffauer, G. T. Wrench, and Helen Zimmern.
[140] 'E. M.' [Edwin Muir], 'The Fire Signal' in *New Age*, 1.22 (Sept. 26, 1907), p. 342; 'Fragments and Parables' in *New Age*, 2.3 (Nov. 14, 1907), p. 50.
[141] Alpers, p. 108.

> Truly, we live in an epigrammatic age! We must all make epigrams or die. It matters little what we make them *about.* Beer, like Mr. Chesterton; Free Love, like Mr. Shaw; Roman Catholicism, like Mr. Belloc; or even Whiskers, like a less illustrious jester. The epigram's the thing.[142]

Whilst Wilde's aphorisms continue to be a shaping influence, therefore, 'Bites from the Apple' more obviously represents a conscious attempt by Mansfield to emulate the epigrammatic in-house style of *The New Age*, and the collection is clearly indebted to the 'forked lightening' of Nietzsche's 'bright aphorisms' and to the prevalence of aphoristic writing across the periodical. In 1915, after reading a biography of Nietzsche, Mansfield reflected in her journal: 'I read *The Lonely Nietzsche*; but I felt a bit ashamed of my feelings for this man in the past. He is, if you like, "human, all too human"'.[143] 'Bites from the Apple' highlights this early enthusiasm for the writings of Nietzsche, something that has escaped attention in critical discussions of Mansfield's development as a writer.

The history of modernism is often made reducible to aphoristic statements, such as Ezra Pound's 'make it new' or the phrase 'less is more'. Significantly, those who based their work upon the aphoristic include such disparate but identifiably 'modernist' writers as Nietzsche and Wilde in the nineteenth century, and Paul Valéry, Gottfried Benn, Franz Kafka, Mina Loy, Walter Benjamin, and Roland Barthes in the twentieth. Yet, surprisingly, there exists little in the critical literature surrounding modernism about the importance of aphorism. Eric Johannesson is one of the few critics to consider the aphoristic in an article on the Swedish poet Vilhelm Ekelund. Johannesson defines the aphorism thus:

> A highly compact and concentrated mode of expression, it is certainly an intensely artistic form; but it is also singularly openended and fluid, like lyric poetry resisting paraphrase and

[142] 'Edward Moore' [Edwin Muir], 'The Epigram' in *New Age*, 13.5 (May 29, 1913), p. 124.
[143] *Journal*, p. 73.

> systematization. Its provisional and fragmentary quality makes it the ideal vehicle for peripatetic thought and for someone who believes that truths may only be glimpsed or caught by surprise. As a form it obviously bears a close relationship to the journal, the mode that records the events of the day and the texture of the quotidian. It is, finally, a ludic form whose aesthetic delight is engendered by the verbal texture itself, by wit, allusion, and paradox.[144]

Johannesson suggests that Nietzsche, the 'peripatetic philosopher', was drawn to aphorism due to the way in which it figures 'a deliberate movement away from linear and systematic discourse in the direction of fragmentary form'.[145] Aphorisms create textures of association within a short phrase, overturning the initial expectations of the reader and thereby challenging linear, systematised discourse. The 'aesthetic delight' of an aphorism resides in this play with the multiple suggestions generated by a word or an idea; not only does the aphorism demand an immediate interpretation from its reader, this interpretation is often balanced by an alternative, often in direct contradiction. For J. P. Stern, the 'charm' of an aphorism 'hides in an antithesis, perfectly integrated, issuing from a double look at a word or an idea'.[146] Far from presenting a universal 'truth' or moral, therefore, aphorisms draw attention to the provisional, relative nature of any claims to truth and morality. For Nietzsche, as such, there was a direct correlation between the aphorism form and his own philosophy.

Stern also observes that the aphorism 'commits aphorist and reader alike to an irretrievable occasion in experience'.[147] Inherent to the aphorism, then, is the expectation of a silent dialogue between aphorist and reader. In 1911, the same year in which Mansfield wrote 'Bites from the Apple', Holbrook Jackson privately printed a book of aphorisms titled *Platitudes in the Making*, which he circulated amongst his close friends. In the copy given to

[144] Eric O. Johannesson, 'Vilhelm Ekelund: Modernism and the Aesthetics of the Aphorism' in *Scandinavian Studies*, 56 (1984), p. 225.
[145] Ibid. 214.
[146] J. P. Stern, *Lichtenberg: A Doctrine of Shattered Occasions. Reconstructed from his Aphorisms and Reflections* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959), p. 216.
[147] Ibid.

G. K. Chesterton are a series of jottings made in green ink under each of Jackson's aphorisms, a response either endorsing or emphatically rejecting each maxim with an alternative. Under 'He who reasons is lost', for instance, Chesterton wrote: 'He who never reasons is not worth finding'. Beneath 'Don't think – do', he declared: 'Do think! Do!'[148] In this text, two of the most noteworthy contributors to *The New Age* converse through aphorism, the Christian apologist challenging the views espoused by the enthusiast of Nietzsche's philosophy. For these writers, aphorisms not only enable the display of individual linguistic wit, but also provide a common ground for debate: the aphorism is inherently dialogic, inviting either identification or the articulation of a radically alternate point of view. It is therefore not surprising that the aphorism was a form favoured by contributors to *The New Age*, a periodical that invited dialogic exchange and conflict.

This prompts us to question: who is Mansfield in conversation with when she writes her aphorisms in 1911? The title 'Bites from the Apple' and the thematic focus throughout Mansfield's aphorisms on the Book of Genesis, the Garden of Eden, Original Sin, and the 'Fall of Man' clearly situate the collection as a response to a set of artistic, philosophical, and political ideas advanced throughout the pages of *The New Age*. Notions of a lapsarian 'Fall of Man' were recurrent throughout the periodical, with contributors consistently appealing to a recoverable 'Golden Age' or Garden of Eden. In a 1907 article titled 'Towards Socialism', for instance, Orage writes:

> Men must redeem themselves, and they must redeem the world. The most daring enterprises are opening before the eyes of men – the conquest of irrational forces of nature, the subjection and transformation of all the devils and titans of earth and water, air and sky, the re-creation

[148] Holbrook Jackson and G. K. Chesterton, *Platitudes Undone: A Facsimile Edition of Holbrook Jackson's 'Platitudes in the Making' with Original Handwritten Responses by G.K. Chesterton* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1997), p. 19.

> of Eden, and the return of man to the primeval garden. That, at least, is the aim that Socialists have. And we are intolerant of anything less.[149]

In the same year, G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc initiated a long-running discussion of 'the Fall' in the pages of *The New Age* by attacking this utopian socialist idea of human perfectibility. Furthermore, Nietzsche's philosophy offered contributors to the periodical a model for opposing religious dogma at the same time as borrowing from the mythological structures of Christian mythology. As Stephen Mulhall highlights, 'Nietzsche's genealogy of Christianity embodies its own myth of the Fall':

> For Nietzsche, that profoundly determinative human perversion of the human is to be found in our acceptance of the Christian myth of the Fall; that is, our acceptance of the doctrine of human nature as Fallen is itself the moment of our true Fall, a falling away from celebrating natural nobility and life itself and a turning toward a reactive condemnation of nobility and life as evil.[150]

For Nietzsche, as Michael Bell notes, myth is not 'a static, timeless transcendence but a constant creation from within history'.[151] Likewise, contributors to *The New Age* appropriated the structures of the Christian myth of 'the Fall' in order to explicate contemporary history and to advance new artistic, philosophical, and political ideas, a trend that reached its apotheosis in the periodical around 1911.

One of the most vigorous proponents of the Fall-myth was T. E. Hulme. In his most anthologised essay, 'Romanticism and Classicism' (which can be dated to 1911 by the reference to René Fauchois's lectures on Racine 'a year ago', lectures that took place in Paris in the autumn of 1910), Hulme writes that '[m]an is an extraordinarily fixed and limited

[149] Orage, 'Towards Socialism' in *New Age*, 1.23 (Oct. 3, 1907), p. 361.
[150] Stephen Mulhall, *Philosophical Myths of the Fall* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), p. 38.
[151] Michael Bell, 'Nietzscheanism: "The Superman and the all-too-human"' in *A Concise Companion to Modernism*, ed. by David Bradshaw (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p. 66.

animal whose nature is absolutely constant': 'The view which regards man as a well, a reservoir full of possibilities, I call the romantic; the one which regards him as a very finite and fixed creature, I call the classical'.[152] In his writings, Hulme adopted what he termed 'the sane classical dogma of original sin' in order to articulate reactionary political ideas of 'order', 'tradition', and 'organisation': in contrast to the concept of man as a *tabula rasa*, advanced by Rousseau and the Romantics of the nineteenth century, Hulme argued 'that man is by nature bad or limited, and can consequently only accomplish anything of value by disciplines, ethical, heroic, or political'.[153] As a regular contributor to the periodical, Hulme's ideas would have been in wide circulation amongst those associated with *The New Age*, many of whom attended his weekly salon at his rooms on Frith Street, and his influence can be traced across the periodical. In the same year as Hulme wrote 'Romanticism and Classicism', for instance, Orage echoed this essay by writing that 'man is a fixed species'.[154] Similarly, in articles that were serialised in *The New Age* throughout the summer of 1911 directly alongside contributions by Mansfield, J. M. Kennedy outlines a condensed history of Western political thought, denouncing the traditions of Protestantism and liberalism in favour of a conception of 'man in his fixed and permanent state'.[155]

It was against these contexts that Mansfield composed 'Bites from the Apple'. In this work, she observes: 'People are charmingly conservative. The story of the Garden of Eden is practically the only plot to fill and refill out West End theatres and the pages of our magazines'. We can interpret this as an ironic comment upon the pervasiveness of the Fall-myth within *The New Age*, and Mansfield's aphorisms register her clear awareness of the ideas associated with the doctrine of Original Sin advanced in the writings of Hulme, Orage,

[152] T. E. Hulme, *Speculations: Essays on Humanism and the Philosophy of Art*, ed. by Herbert Read (New York: Harcourt, 1924), pp. 116-17.
[153] Ibid. 255-6.
[154] [Orage], 'Unedited Opinions: The End of Man' in *New Age*, 9.4 (May 25, 1911), p. 84.
[155] J. M. Kennedy, 'Tory Democracy. V. – Liberalism and Conservatism' in *New Age*, 9.9 (June 29, 1911), p. 197.

and Kennedy. In 'Romanticism and Classicism', for instance, Hulme suggests that 'the whole of the romantic attitude seems to crystallise in verse round metaphors of flight', which becomes a symbol for the 'infinite' and limitless possibilities of man; in 'classical' writing, by contrast, 'there is always a holding back, a reservation'.[156] Similarly, in 'Bites from the Apple', Mansfield observes: 'Life's little flutter inevitably ends in broken wings'. Hulme's reaffirmation of the doctrine of Original Sin led him to view humans as frail and fallible creatures in need of order and direction; as Orage later observed, this insistence upon Original Sin was never balanced by any sense of Redemption.[157] Likewise, Mansfield's metaphor of non-flight, of the 'little flutter' that 'inevitably ends in broken wings', registers a pessimism about human nature remarkably similar to that advanced by Hulme. In 'Bites from the Apple', man is characterised as a fixed, fallen, and limited species without hope of redemption: religious repentance is described as the 'duster with which we sop up the spilt milk' (a possible echo of Hulme's description of romanticism as 'spilt religion'); life is 'a game of cards – which mainly consists of shuffling'; and reality is only 'bearable for the dreams it brings'.[158] For Mansfield, in short: 'We are all of us in a gigantic maze – running round and round'. Mansfield's aphorisms therefore highlight her early affinity with the 'classicism' of other contributors to *The New Age*.

This 'classicist' tendency in Mansfield's early writings has often been elided in critical discussions of her work, largely due to her later association with Murry and his own canonisation of her as a 'romantic' writer. As Fernihough has also observed, however, there is a 'strong anti-romantic impulse' in Mansfield's early writings.[159] Throughout the 'Pension Sketches', for example, Mansfield focuses on the concrete and particular, such as the

[156] Hulme, *Speculations*, p. 120.
[157] 'R. E. C.' [Orage], 'Readers and Writers' in *New Age*, 18.8 (Dec. 23, 1915), p. 181.
[158] Hulme, *Speculations*, p. 118.
[159] Fernihough, *Freewomen and Supermen: Edwardian Radicals and Literary Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 158.

description in 'Bavarian Babies' of 'potatoes banked in one corner, beetroot in an old candle box, two tubs of sauerkraut and a twisted mass of dahlia roots'.[160] Like Hulme, Mansfield avoids abstractions, looking to return modern writing to the earthy and everyday. As in Hulme's 'Romanticism and Classicism', moreover, Mansfield heavily ironizes 'romantic' aspirations by rendering them in terms of rarefied flight: for example, the narrator in 'The Sister of the Baroness' describes the young poet from Munich, who recites Keatsian 'Odes to Solitude', as 'unyoking Pegasus' at the prospect of a Baroness staying at the Pension; likewise, Sonia Godowska in 'The Modern Soul' is enraptured at the sight of a flock of swallows in flight, which she inexplicably and pretentiously describes as 'like a little flock of Japanese thoughts'.[161] In contrast, the narrator of the 'Pension Sketches' is detached and unwilling to reveal too much about herself to the other characters: in other words, 'there is always a holding back, a reservation'.

Whilst she adopted the same pessimistic, fatalistic tone about human limitation, however, Mansfield clearly diverged from Hulme's 'classicism' by using the Fall-myth and story of Eden in order to articulate feminist political commitments. Hulme was a proudly reactionary figure who despised the optimistic cult of Progress and described intellectual women, such as Mansfield and Hastings, as 'just misplaced whores'.[162] Throughout his writings, masculinity is associated with the hard, disciplined, concrete aspects of 'classicism' whereas the female body is consistently imagined in terms of the amorphous, fluid, and threateningly uncontainable. In adopting the story of Eden to challenge this reactionary politics, Mansfield's aphorisms were not an entirely unique intervention within *The New Age*, however. Indeed, the story of Eden was a recurring motif in contributions to *The New Age*

[160] (19) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 161.
[161] (27 and 35) *Fictions*, vol. 1, pp. 191; 216.
[162] Quoted by Christopher Tayler, 'A modernist and a reactionary' in *Telegraph*, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/4729260/A-modernist-and-a-reactionary.html [July 6, 2015]

about feminism and the contemporary 'Woman Question'. In 1907, for instance, Charlotte E. Holmes observed:

> Ever since an unfortunate episode in the Garden of Eden the greater half of the race has remained under a cloud. […] but it is some consolation to a woman's vanity to think that the first woman was beguiled by the most 'subtil' of created things; which cannot quite be said of the first man.[163]

In 'We Moderns', likewise, Muir satirically observed: 'The bluestocking is as old as mankind. Her original was Eve, the first dabbler in moral philosophy'.[164] The story of Genesis therefore offered contributors to the periodical a means by which to conceptualise feminist political ideas and notions of modern female identity.

Throughout 'Bites from the Apple', likewise, Mansfield consistently employs the idea of a 'Fall' into knowledge and experience as a metaphor for contemporary female liberation:

> 29. The sooner Eve meets the serpent the better – then she leaves the Garden of Eden and has the whole world before her.
>
> 32. To be completely lost is to take the first step towards finding yourself.

These two aphorisms, in particular, highlight the importance of Mansfield's geographical imaginary for informing her representations of female selfhood. As in the stories analysed in the previous section of the chapter, journeying and travelling across the world become means of realising self-knowledge and asserting individual female agency for Mansfield: as such, Eve's banishment from the confines of the Garden of Eden is a liberation rather than a curse, a transgression which enables her to have 'the whole world before her'.

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[163] Charlotte E. Holmes, 'A Voice from the Ranks' in *New Age*, 2.7 (Dec. 14, 1907), p. 130.
[164] Edward Moore [Edwin Muir], 'We Moderns' in *New Age*, 20.17 (Feb. 22, 1917), p. 402.

These moments of optimism, however, are always counterbalanced with an acute and bitter awareness of how (carnal) knowledge and (sexual) experience are often attended by pain and sacrifice. For example: 'Those who eat greatly of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge must expect to find themselves crucified on the bare branches'. Throughout 'Bites from the Apple', sexual experience is linked with a dubious and concealed past:

> 36. What so many people seem to forget is that you must have a Past before you can possibly have a Future.
>
> 40. There is the gift that we can do very well without – it is the Present that the Past persists in thrusting upon us.

It must be remembered that Mansfield wrote 'Bites from the Apple' after a stillbirth in late 1909, after contracted gonorrhoea in the same year, and after a possible abortion in the spring of 1911: by pursuing 'experiences' and yielding to 'temptation' Mansfield had suffered greatly. In writing these aphorisms, then, Mansfield evidently heeded Nietzsche's advice in *Human, All Too Human* that 'from the thorniest and unhappiest phases of one's own life one can pluck maxims and feel a bit better thereby'.[165]

In particular, Mansfield used the aphorism form to articulate the empowering politics of renegade feminism analysed in the previous section of this chapter. As such, Mansfield was clearly following the example set by Hastings. In *Woman's Worst Enemy: Woman*, Hastings had also employed the Biblical story and rhetoric of Genesis to formulate ideas about contemporary gender politics. Similarly, she also used the aphorism form to articulate feminist ideas in *The New Age*. In 'Epigrammata', for example, Hastings writes: 'The same woman who cannot be dragged one step may lead over a precipice with equanimity'; and, 'No woman should have the vote until she is able to end a quarrel by going out and giving

[165] Friedrich Nietzsche, *Aphorisms on Love and Hate*, trans. by Marion Faber and Stephen Lehmann (London: Penguin, 2015), p. 1.

herself a treat'.[166] Archival evidence also suggests that Hastings composed her articles for *The New Age* and later periodicals she edited by first writing pithy, aphoristic statements that she then integrated into longer prose.[167] Unlike other contributors to *The New Age*, however, Hastings clearly distinguished her aphorisms from those of Nietzsche. In *Woman's Worst Enemy: Woman*, she writes:

> A German artist who ruined his poetry by interpolating philosophical misinformation, wrote: "Man wants to live! woman only wants to be the means to his life." The history of all civilisation gives the lie to this bumptious masculinism. Civilised woman wants something more than to be the means to man's life: she wants to live herself.[168]

For Hastings, the 'poetry' of Nietzsche's aphorisms was clearly disconnected from their political content. As such, Hastings's example would have highlighted to Mansfield that the form of Nietzsche's philosophy could be divorced from the reactionary politics of his 'bumptious masculinism': relying upon witty turns of phrase and evoking multiple, dialogic strands of meaning, the aphoristic could be deployed to defy expectations and challenge the status quo, articulating the politics of individualist feminism.

Like Hastings, for instance, Mansfield consistently undercuts romanticised notions of 'love' throughout 'Bites from the Apple', which is associated with the recurring themes of disease, darkness, and death; likewise, romantic naivety is often dissipated by quotidian moments of clarity, as in the extended aphorism, number 27. Furthermore, like Hastings writing under the guise of 'D. Triformis', Mansfield shows clear disdain for the idea of 'equality' as well as for the conventions of marriage, writing:

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[166] Hastings, 'Epigrammata' in *New Age*, 7.18 (Sept. 1, 1910), p. 417.
[167] Appendix IV. In particular, see p. 360.
[168] Hastings, *Woman's Worst Enemy: Woman*, p. 7.

4. If a man bore in mind the fact that when he chose his wife his wife also chose him, there would be less talk of the equality of the sexes and more realisation.

41. Love is the Wine of Life – Marriage the non-alcoholic beverage.

In particular, the version of woman-hating feminism propagated by Hastings permeates 'Bites from the Apple'. For instance, Mansfield consistently echoes Hastings's idea that women are responsible either for their own subjugation or their individual freedom, depicting the gossiping, thoroughly conventional, and ultimately masochistic 'Other Woman' as the bar to that freedom, in contrast to the 'progressive' woman who is radical because she is on the fringes of society and is 'wild':

43. Of course most people keep a skeleton in the cupboard. The trouble with the majority of women is that they will persist in shutting themselves up in that cupboard with that skeleton . . .

44. Small wonder that a pillar box is such a channel for gossip – like a woman, it never shuts its mouth.

48. Progressive women can never be popular – why Eve gave Adam the pip – what can you expect. However, generous soul! he did not keep it, but gave it her for seed – And wasn't she wild! She just raised Cain as far as she was Able (Abel.)

Articulating feminist ideas about sex and individual agency, therefore, Mansfield's aphorisms highlight that the relationship between aesthetics and politics in the early twentieth century was certainly not as straightforward as imagined by Hulme, who believed that there was a simple equation between the 'romantic' and progressive, and between the 'classical' and conservative. Instead, Mansfield's aphorisms looked to show that 'classical' form could be combined with 'progressive' politics. Whilst 'Bites from the Apple' also shows signs of misogyny, therefore, Mansfield's aphorisms reclaim 'classicism' for intellectual women and

the 'thinking few'. As such, 'Bites from the Apple' represents a clear intervention within the publication contexts of *The New Age*, offering a riposte to the reactionary and dismissively misogynist writings of other 'classical' contributors to the periodical.

In 1920, Hastings wrote: 'Ephemeral things are all that matter to ephemerae like me. To pretend to notice the solar system is may-fly's snobbism'.[169] Mansfield ends 'Bites from the Apple' with a similar sentiment: 'The classic is that which is eternally modern – the modern that which can never be classic'. Never published within her own lifetime and long hidden within the archives, 'Bites from the Apple' exemplifies this typically modernist attentiveness towards the ephemeral and transitory, and the collection now deserves to be recognised as a pivotal point in Mansfield's stylistic maturation. Indeed, the brevity, wit and sharp impersonality of these aphorisms would all become defining traits of Mansfield's later work, and the use of aphorism represents a deliberate move towards hybridity and formal fragmentation that signifies an important stage in the development of Mansfield's 'modernist' style of literary impressionism. As I've argued in this section of the chapter, however, we have to look at the *content* of these aphorisms to fully appreciate Mansfield's intervention within the intended publication contexts of *The New Age*. Whilst Mansfield had clearly assimilated the 'classicism' advanced by other contributors to the periodical by 1911, 'Bites from the Apple' also highlights how she used the aphorism form to challenge the politics of 'bumptious masculinism' and articulate ideas of female social and sexual emancipation. As such, 'Bites from the Apple' highlights how Mansfield employed a form favoured by contributors to *The New Age* in order to subvert its political associations, a characteristic of her writing that is the focus of the next section of this chapter.

[169] Hastings, 'Madame Six' in *Straight-Thinker* (Feb. 20, 1932), p. 27.

The French Debate

Following the success of *In a German Pension*, published in December 1911, Mansfield began to consider other outlets for her work and started a correspondence with the editor of a new and self-consciously 'modernist' little magazine titled *Rhythm*. John Middleton Murry had founded *Rhythm* in order to promote French philosophy, art and literature in England; invigorated by the 'republic of art' that he had come into contact with on his first visit to Paris, Murry championed the philosophy of Henri Bergson alongside new Fauvist art and the writers of the Fantaisiste literary movement, printed in the original French.[170] After contributing two poems and a short story to *Rhythm* in the spring of 1912, Mansfield quickly established herself as an assistant editor to Murry and became a shaping influence in the production of the magazine before it ceased publication in early 1913.

Mansfield's newfound authority evidently riled Orage, who denounced his past protégé for being 'wilfully defiant of the rules of art' in the stories contributed to *Rhythm*.[171] This criticism turned personal when Orage savagely caricatured Mansfield over several weeks in his regular series 'Tales for Men Only' as the ignorant, uncultured and sexually promiscuous 'Marcia Foisacre', a woman who displays all 'the characteristics of the mob'.[172] In light of this evident vitriol, scholars have long understood Mansfield's association with *Rhythm* as a concomitant defection from *The New Age*. Yet this ignores the fact that Mansfield continued to contribute to Orage's periodical throughout 1912; moreover, after a brief appearance again in 1915, she contributed a series of dialogues, a translation, and several short stories to *The New* Age in 1917. Rather than departing or taking her leave from *The New Age* in 1912, Mansfield continued to feel the pull of the periodical throughout her

[170] John Middleton Murry, 'Coming to London' in *Coming to London*, ed. by John Lehman (London: Phoenic House, 1957), p. 100.
[171] [Orage], 'Present-Day Criticism' in *New Age*, 10.22 (March 28, 1912), p. 519.
[172] R. H. Congreve [Orage], 'A Fourth Tale for Men Only' in *New Age*, 11.3 (May 16, 1912), p. 61.

writing career, and her later contributions therefore demand closer analysis. In this section of the chapter, I will examine the ways in which Mansfield associated these contributions to *The New Age* with the cultural life of France for which *Rhythm* had been a metonym.

The son of a lower-middle class civil servant, Murry had had to work hard in order to gain entry first to Christ's Hospital school and then Oxford University, and he was constantly troubled by an acute awareness of his class origins and his position as an outsider to the upper echelons of the English intelligentsia. Representing an egalitarian 'republic' free from class distinctions and restrictions, Paris offered a liberating space from which Murry felt he could gain legitimate entry into the realms of literature and art. It was perhaps to this 'lower middle-class' upstart, then, that Orage directed these barbed comments in his regular column 'Readers and Writers' in August 1913:

> The notion that Paris is a sort of literary Mecca, a journey to which 'saves' an author's style, is one of the superstitions of lower middle-class Englishmen (these include Americans). There is really, my friends, no salvation in Geography. Paris, it is true, is the arbiter of European taste; but arbiters do not create! […] [S]hun Paris and cease reading French. The best preparation for writing great English is living in England and reading, writing and, above all, talking, English.[173]

These protestations of cultural nationalism seem surprising coming from the same man who insisted at the outset of his literary career that his surname be pronounced to echo the French for 'storm' in order to suggest Huguenot ancestry and conceal his own 'lower middle-class' Yorkshire roots. Such protestations also appear inconsistent with the publication history of *The New Age*, which had been introducing its readers over the last several years to French philosophy in the writings of Hulme, to new artistic movements born in Paris (such as Post-Impressionism and Cubism) through the criticism of Huntly Carter, and to the major writers

[173] R. H. C. [Orage], 'Readers and Writers' in *New Age*, 13.18 (Aug. 28, 1913), p. 513.

of French literature through Arnold Bennett's incredibly popular review column, written under the pseudonym 'Jacob Tonson'. Yet *The New Age* was a decidedly Janus-faced publication. The moment that Hulme explained Bergson's philosophy of intuition, for instance, Ernest Belfort Bax rubbished it. And in the same pages in which Carter celebrated Paris for the vitality of its new art, a quotation from G. K. Chesterton denigrated a Cubist study reproduced in the periodical as 'a piece of paper on which Mr Picasso has had the misfortune to upset the ink and tried to dry it with his boots'.[174]

When the *New Age* published a series of essays by Ezra Pound in the autumn of 1913 titled 'The Approach to Paris', therefore, it ran another series in tandem, a parody by Hastings under the pseudonym 'T. K. L.'. In the 'Approach to Paris' essays, Pound arrived at his now recognisable tone of isolated superiority, lambasting London (as compared to Paris) as 'just an easy-chair, the most comfortable place in the world' and building his argument around lots of long, un-translated passages of contemporary French poetry, stating abrasively: 'If a man is incapable of hearing this litany I cannot help it'.[175] By contrast, Hastings made previously opaque quotations readily available through translation and adopted a characteristically irreverent tone to make Pound appear ridiculous: 'What? The "Canterbury Tales"? I smile explosively – all pure French, my dear sir! Now sit down and let me talk'.[176] As Ann Ardis has argued, this rhetorical skirmish between Hastings and Pound can be understood as representative of the 'dialogism' characterising *The New Age* more widely.[177]

The 'French debate' – as we might call it – highlights the fact that 'cosmopolitanism' and 'internationalism' were always highly contested terms within *The New Age* and that there was a clear anxiety that the language and culture of England should be protected from foreign

[174] Quoted in [Orage], 'Present-Day Criticism' in *New Age*, 10.7 (Dec. 14, 1911), p. 158.
[175] Ezra Pound, 'The Approach to Paris, I' in *New Age*, 13.19 (Sept. 4. 1913), p. 552; 'The Approach to Paris, II' in *New Age*, 13.20 (Sept. 11, 1913), p. 578.
[176] T. K. L. [Hastings], 'The Way Back to America' in *New Age*, 13.21 (Sept. 18, 1913), p. 604.
[177] Ardis, 'The Dialogics of Modernism(s) in *The New Age*', pp. 407-34

influence, an anxiety that only increased as political tensions mounted in the years before the outbreak of the First World War. For many of the conservative and 'classicist' contributors to *The New Age*, moreover, the ideals of the French Republic represented pernicious political abstractions. After Hulme famously renounced Bergson's philosophy in 1911, for instance, he followed Pierre Lasserre and Charles Maurras's right-wing Action Française group by arguing that 'romanticism' was the product of a cultural and linguistic dissociation from the real and authentic, a dissociation initiated by the philosophy of Rousseau and the egalitarianism of the French Revolution. And, at about the same time, Orage writes:

> Down with the Tricolour; by which you understand that I mean the three headed dog of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. […] Of all the curses that abortion, the French Revolution, brought amongst men, the worship of its trinity is the worst. Let France that raised the flag be the first to haul it down.[178]

In line with Nietzsche's critique of democracy as the rule of 'the mob', with its herd-like mentality, the majority of contributors to *The New Age* looked to promote an 'aristocracy' of the arts based upon the supreme individuation of the *Übermensch*, a form of freedom based not upon the abstractions of the state, such as 'Liberty', but upon hyper-individualism.[179] This idea shaped Oscar Levy's argument in *The Revival of Aristocracy* (1906) that the French Revolution had resulted from a failure of nerve in the aristocracy, a failure that needed to be recuperated. This rhetoric was a variant upon the discourse of Original Sin analysed in the previous section of the chapter: abstraction and dissociation represent the 'Fall' from a healthy, rooted national and aristocratic culture into a deracinated and decadent democracy. As such, the 'French debate' in *The New Age* had clear political resonance.

[178] [Orage], 'Unedited Opinions. Down with the Tricolour' in *New Age*, 9.21 (Sept. 21, 1911), pp. 489-90.
[179] This critique of democracy was also drawn from Plato. In *The Republic*, Plato denounces democracy as the rule of *doxa* over *philosophica*, of opinion over knowledge; this distinction implies that democracy is the rule of the uneducated over the educated.

What is particularly interesting for our purposes, though, is the way in which this political debate crystallised around questions of literary style. In 1913, as quoted above, Orage employs the rhetoric of the 'Fall' and 'Redemption' when he declares that Paris does not offer 'salvation' for an author's 'style'. And when he provides his own judgement on Pound's 'Approach to Paris' essays, Orage writes:

> [W]hat qualification, I may ask, has Mr. Pound revealed for making a fair estimate of English writing as compared with French? His critical knowledge of French I will take for granted – it does not much concern me; but his critical knowledge of English we English-writers are entitled to demand evidence of. Where is that evidence? As 'T. K. L.' has shown in a series of critical parodies constituting a tour de force of amazing cleverness (where is Tailharde now?) Mr. Pound's own English style is a pastiche of colloquy, slang, journalism and pedantry. Of culture in Nietzsche's sense of the word – a unity of style – it bears no sign.[180]

Apparently unaware of the irony of his using the phrase 'tour de force' in this passage, Orage employed the concept of 'unity of style' in order to link aesthetics with politics. As Thomas Leddy has observed, Nietzsche's concept of 'unity of style' provided an evaluative framework by which the philosopher looked to consider both individuals and cultures as 'organic wholes'.[181] Moreover, 'Nietzsche analyses unity of style in terms of its opposite: the style of the cultural philistine. Unity of style comes to be understood not simply as homogeneity of style but as a style which results from a refusal to be shallow'.[182] In other words, high culture must resist mass culture: it must insulate itself from the 'colloquy' and 'slang' of the herd-like *Untermensch*; only by doing so can individuals and cultures achieve the organic integrity of the aristocratic *Übermensch*. This articulation of the high/low binary, so common to modernist writing of the early twentieth century, was framed in *The New Age*

[180] R. H. C. [Orage], 'Readers and Writers' in *New Age*, 13.26 (Oct. 23, 1913), p. 761.
[181] Thomas Leddy, 'Nietzsche on Unity of Style' in *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*, 21: 3 (Fall 1995), p. 553.
[182] Ibid. 553-4.

around the geographical separation between England and France, and the linguistic dissociation between English and French. It is not often that Pound can be accused of subordinating his writings to the demands of mass culture; for Orage writing in *The New Age* in 1913, however, Pound's prose style, in which French mixes so readily with English, represents both cultural philistinism and national deracination. Likewise, when Orage caricatured Mansfield as displaying all 'the characteristics of the mob' he was associating her with a deplored cultural democratisation; this caricature was also formulated in response to the stories Mansfield contributed to *Rhythm* that were set in New Zealand, so that 'the mob' can also be viewed as signifying her colonial alterity. How did Mansfield respond to this in her later contributions to *The New Age*? In particular, if literary style is seen as the marker of cultural and national integrity, in what ways did Mansfield's formal experiments in these contributions encode a political critique that participated in the 'French debate'?

The answer to these questions, again, can be found in the contributions made to the periodical by Hastings. Whilst Hastings was more than ready to cut Pound down to size in her articles for *The New Age*, this did not mean that she subscribed to Orage's 'unity of style' as an alternative. Indeed, in her memoir of 1936, recalling the passage by Orage quoted above, Hastings characterised Orage's own style as far from unified, as neither organic to the individual nor effortless:

> [W]hen I wrote, as 'T. K. L.', a series of parodies of certain poets introduced by Pound, who took the jousting with tolerable literary manner, Orage, *butt[ed] in* with his flat, ponderous pen (and what a flat, ponderous, stilted, maundering, when not coy, conceited and facetious, when not plagiaristic or outright thievish 'literary' pen he had […]).[183]

Similarly, whilst Hastings promoted a political philosophy of extreme individualism, this political outlook was not registered in a concomitant rejection of all things French, as in the

[183] Hastings, *The Old "New Age"*, pp. 6-7.

writings of Hulme and Orage. Instead, in the contributions that she made to *The New Age* from 1914 onwards, Hastings arrived at a new way of writing that challenged the very idea of a 'unity of style' by employing 'colloquy' and 'slang' and by demonstrating a clear debt to her interactions and engagements with the language and culture of France. It was this intervention in the 'French debate', I argue, that had a profound influence in shaping Mansfield's later and often overlooked contributions to *The New Age* in 1915 and 1917.

In May 1914, Hastings left London for Paris and, over the next eighteen months, contributed sixty-eight articles to *The New Age* under the title 'Impressions of Paris'. Published under the pseudonym 'Alice Morning', these contributions relate the dislocations of travel, in which the writer is 'tossed from side to side of the Boulevard by excited persons all directing me wrongly', for example, and shouts at pedantic administrators: 'I prefer the scrunch of my French to the squeak of your English'.[184] Indeed, the contrast between English and French is consistently conducive to humour and serves to emphasise English parochialism throughout the 'Impressions of Paris'. For instance: 'Two English have got rooms here on opposite sides of the court, and every night one comes out and says in a great important whisper – Walk-*er*! Then he says – Commong ally voo? I think he thinks it means Goodnight'.[185] For Hastings, the 'English in Paris as a rule are tortures to hear'.[186] In an extended passage, for example, she mimics the upper-class accent of the decadent *Daily Telegraph*-reading public:

> They all affect their language in a way to fascinate the Nu Spelers but to make anyone else afraid for the country. "End weh set neah the fahoontehn in the Lucks-om-booarg … Ai wis muhst engry, reahlly … the braidsmed's brathar is on the 'Delly Tellygreph' … Yas, sh's reahlly well orf b't naoow sh' g'ts f'ts o' 'conomy … Fency, sh's dahoon t' guh tuh th' front,

[184] Alice Morning [Hastings], 'Pastiche. Impressions de Paris' in *New Age*, 15.3 (May 21, 1914), p. 68.
[185] Alice Morning [Hastings], 'Impressions de Paris. – III' in *New Age*, 15.6 (June 11, 1914), p. 138.
[186] Alice Morning [Hastings], 'Impressions of Paris' in *New Age*, 17.13 (July 29, 1915), p. 307.

> but sh's on'y duhn Farst Ed … Chorming w'm'n, b't sh'll nevah mek 'nangfairmiaire-nevah … Dr. Hed'n Guest … yas, chorming, b't feahf'lly erretic 'n impahlsive … Yas, ai muhst goo … goo-bai!" A foreign friend of mine who rather fancies speaking English, always carefully says "Goo-bai." No wonder![187]

What is significant about this passage is the way in which Hastings highlights how the experience of travel and being abroad reveals the way in which people, both 'English' and 'foreign', '*affect* their language'. This focus on affectation and the malleability of language are of course typically 'modernist' and signal a stylistic freedom that is characteristic of Hastings's prose. Borrowing freely from 'the memoir, journalism, letters, guidebooks, confessional narrative, and, *most important*, fiction',[188] the travelogue is a genre notoriously difficult to demarcate, and Hastings makes full use of this generic ambiguity, interweaving her reports about Paris under siege, for example, with descriptions about her own love affairs, or juxtaposing bits of gossip from her circle of new acquaintances among the artists of Montparnasse and Montmartre with letters back to *The New Age*, critiquing recent work by Pound or Wells. Like Mansfield in 'Being a Truthful Adventure', moreover, Hastings links the assertion of female agency with a refusal to conform to the guidebook or travelogue genre. She writes ironically, for instance:

> [L]et me guide. For a meal which won't completely starve you go to the Restaurant Boudet, two hundred something Boulevard Raspail. For rendez-vous comme il faut but where a word missed in the noise may change your whole career, there is Café Soufflet, 30, Boulevard St. Michel. For cigarettes – nowhere – smuggle in your own.[189]

[187] Ibid.
[188] Michael Kowaleski, quoted in Tim Youngs, 'Introduction' in *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, ed. by Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 1.
[189] Alice Morning [Hastings], 'Pastiche. Impressions de Paris – II' in *New Age*, 15.5 (June 4, 1914), p. 115.

There is also a clear note of defiance when Hastings observes: 'I haven't yet seen the uplifting things of Baedeker'.[190] Indeed, the first 'Impressions' in the series were categorised as 'Pastiche', signalling the fact that Hastings was parodying the travelogue genre. Instead, she develops a unique style of impressionistic journalism, discounting the major tourist attractions, such as the Louvre, in order to describe the chaos of a street scene or transcribe a fragment of a conversation overheard in a café. In this way, Hastings arrived at her own peculiar 'unity of style' throughout the 'Impressions of Paris' series, one based upon the *disunity* created by contrast and collage. As Hastings's biographer has observed, hers was 'the new female style: broken, adept at shifting tone', the 'kind of stylistic glossolalia' that dissolved rigid boundaries of genre and thereby challenged established cultural categories.[191]

This 'disunity of style' also became a fitting mode for depicting the fragmentation and disintegration caused by the war. After August 1914, the 'Impressions of Paris' series quickly became the diary of a city under siege, with narrative episodes frequently interrupted by the unexpected, such as Zeppelin raids and bombings:

> As I passed the Hotel de Ville I was glad that this fine and delicate building, spaced in every direction, was in small danger from bombardment. Then the crowd began to run. I had heard nothing, for the good reason that the two bombs which fell, one on Notre Dame and one in a square adjoining, did not burst. The French aviators soon rose in chase and the crowd became enormous. I am terrified of big crowds and got away, though into a little one where a discussion was going on. Some monsieur seemed to have been saying that we had no protection from bombs, which was obvious enough indeed. But the other persons resented such an idea. Up came a gendarme with the usual 'S'sh, s'sh, what's all this?' – and we were all breaking away when out started a young woman: 'Monsieur l'agent, arrest him. Yes! For a quarter of an hour he has worried me. Yes! He says we have no protection from bombs – and

[190] Alice Morning [Hastings], 'Pastiche. Impressions de Paris – III', p. 139.
[191] Gray, *Beatrice Hastings*, p. 182.

> – and – and…' all in the most whining tone which was utterly belied by a face and manner bold à la Caillaux.[192]

In the same article, Hastings lists '[s]craps of conversation overheard as you pass about the streets':

> A little girl: 'I never even said "monsieur," I said simply, "I excuse myself for saying Zut!"' Two monsieurs: – 'Everyone makes a rejection according to his own taste.' Three women at a door: 'In the arm, the foot and the leg!' A young soldier: 'Tell her…' A very young man: 'I've cut her head off. I've done with her. Long live liberty!'[193]

Throughout the 'Impressions of Paris' series, reported speech is integral in creating this disjunction between the extraordinary and everyday, the violent and mundane, the life threatening and quotidian. This style is not only a mode of parody, satirising home-front attitudes and anxieties, but also serves to reflect the absurdity of wartime reality for civilians.

When Mansfield travelled to Paris in the spring of 1915 in order to work in the writer Francis Carco's empty apartment on the Quai aux Fleurs, she often visited Hastings, who was then living in Montmartre in an apartment off one of the side streets beyond the recently completed Sacré Cœur. Mansfield wrote to Murry about her 'cold interest in noting the signs' of her older friend's drunkenness and about an explosive scene in which Hastings 'flared up in a *fury* & we parted for life again'.[194] After this, she writes to Murry saying 'I think Orage wants kicking' and 'I don't want *anything* about Paris to go to the New Age – I must not make daisy chains in Biggy B's meadows', by which she meant Hastings's field of impressionistic journalism.[195] Yet, in November 1915, Mansfield did contribute to *The New*

[192] Alice Morning [Hastings], 'Impressions of Paris' in *New Age*, 15.25 (Oct. 22, 1914), p. 598.
[193] Ibid. 599.
[194] *Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 159; 165.
[195] Ibid. 170; 166.

Age again; and, what's more, with a piece that employed Hastings's style of reported speech and her mimicry of tone and accent.

'Stay-Laces' is a savage satire of home-front attitudes to the war. These fragments of conversation, presented as if overheard on a bus or in a department store, demonstrate Mansfield's talent for producing writing in which an authorial perspective isn't imposed, so that the women of the piece are left to reveal their own shallow outlook to the reader:

> Mrs Busk: […] I *love* the wounded, don't you? Oh, I simply love them. And their sweet blue and red uniforms are so cheerful and awfully effective, aren't they? I can't *think* who thought of that bright red tie against that bright blue.[196]

The dialogue form that Mansfield employs here was a recurring feature of contributions to *The New Age*. Inspired by his early enthusiasm for the writings of Plato, Orage sought to foster a form of Socratic debate within the periodical; pursuing this ideal, his own extended series of 'Unedited Opinions' was based upon the dialogue format of question and answer, as was – to a certain extent – the distinctly misogynistic series 'Tales for Men Only'. Based upon this classical model, the dialogue form offered a structured platform from which Orage could methodically advance his own opinions. In 1911, Mansfield emulated this by composing a dialogue on the occasion of George V's coronation and 'with apologies to Theocritus', transposing a text set in ancient Greece into working-class suburban London.[197] At first glance, then, 'Stay-Laces' would appear to be entirely of-a-piece with the in-house style of *The New Age*. However, Mansfield makes a noticeable change here: the dialogue between the two women in 'Stay-Laces' isn't reciprocal, with the talk of Mrs Bone reduced to ellipses followed by question or exclamation marks.

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[196] (91) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 460.
[197] (36) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 221.

With this contribution, as Gerri Kimber has observed in *Katherine Mansfield: The View from France*, Mansfield was emulating the French writer Colette, who often employed the 'dialogue for one voice' in her writings, using ellipses to figure gaps in conversation within stories such as 'L'Accompagnatrice' and 'L'Habilleuse', both published in *L'Envers du Music-Hall* in 1913.[198] An article printed in *The New Age* in September 1910 had mentioned the writings of Colette, and *The Blue Review* had featured a review article in June 1913, but it was most likely through her association with Carco and Hastings that Mansfield first began reading Colette seriously.[199] Carco was a friend to Colette (he had even been a ghost-writer for her ex-husband, known as 'Willy'), and he had praised her work in three separate articles published in *Rhythm* in 1912, which Mansfield – as assistant editor – would certainly have read. In these articles, Carco writes of Colette's 'dazzling impressionism' ('Colette Willy cherit l'impressionnisme le plus éclatant') and groups her together with Paul Adam, Henri Bergson, and Romain Rolland as representative of the 'young' generation of writers shaping modern sensibility.[200] For Hastings, writing in *The New Age* in January 1918, Colette's writings revealed 'an alphabet of psychology' unlike anything produced in English.[201] And, in an unpublished note written whilst in hospital in Paris in 1920, she writes:

> Colette, too, has the Cross. Delicious person. But I know more than one English woman-writer – what a word! – who would have had nothing to concede to Colette had she – the said woman-writer – not been English. Dickens knew, and he was a Man, that one cannot write well for the British public. 'If I had not been an Englishman, I should have been a great writer,' said he.[202]

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[198] Gerri Kimber, *Katherine Mansfield: The View from France* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008), pp. 119-20.
[199] Vincent O'Sullivan, 'Like Everybody Else?' in *New Age*, 7.18 (Sept. 1, 1910), p. 424; X. Marcel Boulestin, 'Recent French Novels' in *Blue Review* (June 1913), pp. 138-9.
[200] Francis Carco, 'Lettre de France' in *Rhythm*, 10 (Nov. 1912), p. 275; 'Revue des Revues' in *Rhythm*, 9 (Oct. 1912), p. 236.
[201] Hastings, 'Notes from France' in *New Age*, 22.14 (Jan. 31, 1918), p. 269.
[202] Appendix IV, p. 356.

The clear influence of Colette's elliptical form on Hastings's own work can be seen in the parody of 'the Nu Spelers' quoted above. For Hastings, Colette comes to represent an alternative female literary tradition based in Paris: this is a tradition that is by implication both aesthetically innovative and sexually transgressive (Colette 'has the Cross'), and it is a tradition that can be *appropriated* by the 'woman-writer' writing in English.

Like Hastings, Mansfield would have identified with Colette's fiercely-held independence and the focus in her work on modern female subjectivity. After re-reading Colette's novel *L'Entrave* in November 1914, for example, she writes in her journal: 'I don't care a fig for anyone I know except her'.[203] In a letter to Murry written in December 1915, Mansfield recounts a dream in which she is with Colette in a box at the circus:

> I should like to be at a large circus tonight, in a box – very luxurious, you know, very warm, very gay with a smell of sawdust & elephants. A superb clown called Pistachio – white poneys [sic], little blue monkeys drinking tea out of Chinese cups – I should like to be dressed beautifully, beautifully down [to] the last fragment of my chemise, & I should like Colette Willy to be dressed just exactly like me & to be in the same box. And during the entr'actes while the orchestra blared Pot Pourri from The Toreador we would eat tiny little jujubes out of a much too big bag & tell each other all about our childhood.[204]

Colette's work, which consistently depicts the backstage worlds of the music hall, the ballet and the theatre, comes to represent a version of female performativity rooted in the experience of childhood, an idea that would exercise significant influence in Mansfield's later work. In the same month of December 1915, Mansfield again writes to Murry from Paris: 'I am longing for my Colette books'.[205] Then, in early October 1916, she writes: 'For me she

[203] *Journal*, p. 62.
[204] *Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 212-13.
[205] Ibid. 231.

[Colette] is more real than anyone Ive [sic] ever known. London is sad and dull'.[206] The immediate comparison with London here is revealing: Colette represents the same alternative, invigorating literary tradition that it does for Hastings.

This triangular identification between Mansfield, Hastings, and Colette is further illuminated in a letter sent by Murry to Mansfield in March 1915:

> You see Beatrice (tho' I never have seen her) seems to be a smaller specimen of your kind. Well, they don't turn up very often. They're absolutely different from women in general; and all women in general are against them. Its [sic] easy to see why. It's not because you criticise them or are clever; but because they see in you the ideal they never can attain. […] They're negatives – in you they come up against a positive and they hate it. They put up right & wrong against you, whose greatness is that there is no right and wrong save what you feel to be you or not-you. Well with so much against you, it's a hard row to hoe, to be really *you*. (You is a type – the wonderful type from Aspasia to B.B. Colette Vagabonde, and you above all moderns)[207]

'Aspasia' is a reference to the famous courtesan of Ancient Greece, whose beauty, culture and wit so captivated Pericles; 'B.B.' is a reference to Hastings, whose nickname from childhood was 'Biggy B'; and 'Vagabonde' refers to Colette's novel about her music-hall life, published in 1910, *La Vagabonde*. In this letter, Murry tells Mansfield that Hastings represents 'something which was – perhaps only a little bit – in you, that used to terrify me and almost killed me dead – I mean the Cabaret bit'.[208] Again, therefore, the identification between the writers comes to signify something performative and transgressive; with both Hastings and Colette having had notorious reputations for same-sex relationships, the passage also implies Murry's half-acknowledged awareness ('almost' and 'perhaps only a little bit')

[206] Ibid. 282.
[207] Murry, *The Letters of John Middleton Murry to Katherine Mansfield*, ed. by Cherry A. Hankin (London: Constable, 1983), pp. 53-4.
[208] Ibid. 53.

of Mansfield's own sexual past with women. Predominantly, however, Hastings and Colette signify a 'type' of modernity that Mansfield embodies 'above all': they represent the 'ideal' of female agency and self-knowledge, the 'positive' of female independence against the 'negative' of social convention (the 'Other Women').

Published in a periodical permeated with nods, winks and coded in-jokes, the ellipses in 'Stay-Laces' therefore served as a silent signal to those-in-the-know that Mansfield was associating her writing with this contemporary female tradition. Mansfield adopts Colette's disruptive literary technique in order to achieve the same kind of broken style as Hastings in the 'Impressions of Paris' series, one adept at abruptly shifting tone. At the level of form, then, Mansfield was clearly undercutting the ideal of an organic and integrated 'unity of style'. In terms of content, too, 'Stay-Laces' represents a clear riposte to Orage's 'Tales for Men Only'. The sketch is populated entirely by women. Men are seen within the crowd on the bus, or across the street ('Look at that enormous Indian creature in khaki … Do you think you could ever be attracted by a dark man?'), but this is the extent of their involvement within the narrative. At a time when many women became bus conductors to fill the vacancies made by the war, it is not even clear whether the conductor who shouts 'Selfridges! Sel-fridges' is male or female. Yet Mansfield is not uncritical of the women that she depicts. Mrs Busk talks aimlessly about the latest fashions, about hairstyles, corsets and earrings, tells her companion how she 'loathe[s] getting on 'buses' because of the pushing and shoving of the herd-like crowd, is scandalised (yet clearly intrigued) by an overheard conversation about an abortion, is openly racist, and presumptuously mistakes a woman for a shop assistant: 'But, really, she had something of the shop assistant about her, hadn't she? The earrings – and that enormous coloured comb …'[209] In short, Mrs Busk is a snob: she is representative of the 'negatives' identified by Murry, a stand-in for 'women in general'. In many ways, then,

[209] (91) *Fictions*, vol. 1, pp. 459-60.

Mansfield is no less misogynist or hostile towards cultural democratisation than Orage; however, she reformulates his idea of 'the mob' in order to position herself against it. In this sketch, women bound by social convention and prejudice constitute the unthinking 'mob'. Mansfield's silent opposition to such women is enacted at the level of form, with the ellipses in 'Stay-Laces' signalling her alternative identification with the 'positive' type of modern woman exemplified by Colette and Hastings. Whilst Mansfield's politics were remarkably similar to the anti-democratic rhetoric of other contributors to the periodical, therefore, it is class-bound England that is the object of her satire and the culture of France that offers redemption from 'the mob'.

Mansfield's next contribution to the periodical came over a year later with a collection of 'fragments' published in the 'Pastiche' section. In the longest of these fragments, Mansfield mimics those contributors to *The New Age* arguing for the protection of the English language from foreign influence, with the narrator ironically admonishing herself in the mirror with: 'Don't speak French if you're English; it's a vulgar habit'.[210] Indeed, the title of the first fragment, 'Alors, Je Pars', also alerts us to the fact that Mansfield is entering the 'French debate' here: a romanticised description of nature is interrupted with a banal line of overheard gossip in the style of 'Stay-Laces', the ellipses again signalling the potential of women's writing formed in the tradition of Colette to disrupt conventional narrative and systematised discourse. In the last fragment, for example, Mansfield alludes to the first book of Plato's *Republic*, written in Socratic dialogue, a discourse which she undercuts by transposing the story of Cephalus into the realm of personal and contemporary female experience.

After this, Mansfield returned to the dialogue form of 'Stay-Laces' with a collection of six pieces published from May into early June 1917. The first, titled 'Two Tuppenny Ones,

[210] (92) *Writings*, p. 411.

Please', again employs the 'dialogue for one voice' in order to satirise female attitudes to the war and the crippling obsession with class in England. We suspect that the 'Lady' of the piece is struggling against a rapid slide down the social scale caused by the economic restrictions imposed by the war. She repeatedly tries to avoid paying the extra penny required for her bus journey, and explains the loss of her maid as a result of what she perceives to be the hysteria created by the war:

> Yes, isn't it annoying! Just when I got her more or less trained. But she went off her head, like they all do nowadays, and decided that she wanted to go into munitions. I told her when she gave notice that she would go on the strict understanding that if she got a job (which I think is highly improbable), she was not to come back and disturb the other servants.[211]

As in 'Stay-Laces', the use of the 'dialogue for one voice' here is not only conducive to comedy, but also creates a kind of 'portrait of the Lady' resembling a dramatic monologue in the tradition of Robert Browning, in which a character's conversation reveals something subliminal or elided about their personality and psyche. In the above passage, for example, the Lady's apparent refusal to understand the reasons for her maid leaving the household highlights her refusal to confront her own diminishing social position. It was therefore not such a radical departure from the 'dialogue for one voice' for Mansfield's next contribution to *The New Age* to be a monologue. In this sketch, Mansfield resurrects the character of Virginia first used in *Rhythm* in January 1913, in a parody of the male-clique of *The New Age* titled 'Virginia's Journal'. The arrival of a letter from the front in 'Late at Night' leads Virginia to think about the conflict in France, which becomes distorted through her own fears and insecurities. In this piece, Mansfield emphasises misunderstanding between the sexes as heightened by miscommunication across the Channel. Similarly, 'The Black Cap' and 'A Pic-Nic' disrupt the dialogue form to expose failures of communication and thereby satirise

[211] (93) *Fictions*, vol. 2, p. 24.

the failed attempts by the characters of each story to conduct their illicit love affairs and elopements.

If Mansfield's engagement with the 'French debate' in these pieces is implicit and limited to her formal experimentation with Colette's disruptive literary technique, however, then 'In Confidence' explicitly parodies the debate. The dialogue opens with an argument between five men, beginning with the observation that the 'lack of prudery in France merely seems to me to prove that the French do believe that man is au fond a rational animal. You don't dispute that, do you? I mean – well – damn it all! their literature's based on it. Isn't it?'[212] Excluded from this all-male conversation, Marigold takes Isabel into the hall, saying: 'Aren't men extraordinary? Don't they ever grow out of that kind of thing? No; never. […] What on earth makes them do it? Vanity, my dear, and the masculine delight in showing off'.[213] In the same manner as her earlier satire of *The New Age* published in *Rhythm*, Mansfield portrays the 'Tales for Men Only' aspect of the periodical as just a lot of pretentious prattle. Yet, following on from 'Stay-Laces' and 'Two Tuppenny Ones, Please', she also blocks the possibility of any meaningful conversation between the two women, with Isobel's responses to Marigold limited to smiles, wistful glances, and shakes of the head made in parenthesis. Mansfield here employs the omissions of Colette in order to highlight the impossibility of language ever meeting with perfect comprehension, the impossibility of anyone ever being able to truly articulate what they mean. In this way, she reveals as ridiculous the attempts by the men of the story to articulate exactly 'the thing that great art's got to have', a project motivated by their belief that 'the English must of necessity beat the French at this art game'.[214] As such, Mansfield parodies the way in which aesthetic ideals were equated with notions of national superiority in *The New Age*. 'In Confidence' therefore

[212] (96) *Fictions*, vol. 2, p. 32.
[213] Ibid. 32-3.
[214] Ibid. 32.

represents Mansfield's clearest intervention in the 'French debate'. It also highlights how the 'dialogism' that Ardis understands as constitutive of *The New Age* was not above critique. In this contribution to the periodical, dialogue is less about voicing opinion and more about the silencing of others; far from being inclusive, the dialogue operates upon exclusion. In this way, Mansfield gestures towards the way in which the 'French debate' within *The New Age* served to designate 'culture' as an exclusively masculine domain.

Having now clearly entered the 'French debate' in *The New Age*, Mansfield further emphasised her identification with Colette by contributing a story in dialogue form, published the week after 'In Confidence'; as Kimber has observed, 'The Common Round' is clearly based upon Colette's vignette 'L'Enfant de Bastienne'.[215] Mansfield reworks Colette's story of an impoverished ballerina in order to depict Ada Moss, an out-of-work singer and film extra haunted by the same processional visions of food as Colette's protagonist. An early version of Mansfield's story 'Pictures', 'The Common Round' highlights how Mansfield's experimentation with the dialogue form in *The New Age* shaped her later more accomplished stories, in which the expected balance between narration and speech is disrupted in order to achieve the kind of cinematic theatricality that is the focus of the story. In addition, Mansfield further emphasised her affinity with France by contributing a short story set in Paris ('An Album Leaf', later given the French title 'Feuille d'Album') as well as her own translation of a story by Alphonse Daudet. Like almost all of Mansfield's contributions to the periodical at this time, this narrative is framed as a 'dialogue for one voice', in which an older man admonishes the young Gringoire for refusing a job as a journalist in order to pursue his sentimental ambition to become a poet by telling him the cautionary tale of M. Seguin's young female goat, a creature with a pure white coat who longs to be free from her master and roam across the mountains, only to be eaten by a wolf when she does so. 'M. Seguin's

[215] Kimber, *Katherine Mansfield*, pp. 118-19.

Goat' is about the dangers of women exerting independence and travelling to strange places; it is a cautionary tale about renouncing the protection of the patriarch and losing one's virginity, a story that all young girls in France, right up until the mid-twentieth century, were made to read in school. By choosing to contribute this translation to *The New Age*, Mansfield was making an ironic comment about the way in which generic distinctions between 'journalism' and 'poetry', for example, replicate and perpetuate gender politics, and was thereby satirising Orage's attempts to distinguish 'culture' from 'colloquy, slang, journalism and pedantry'. Moreover, this contribution highlights how the choices Mansfield made in her own life, to embrace the independence of solitary travel, for instance, were intimately bound up with her refusal to conform to the dictates of a prescribed 'unity of style'.

As I have argued in this section of the chapter, Mansfield's experimentation with the dialogue form in her later period of association with *The New Age* in 1915 and 1917 can be contextualised against recurring debates within the periodical about the significance of the language and culture of France. By adopting the elliptical, broken style of Colette and Hastings, Mansfield associated her writing with a contemporary female literary tradition based in Paris, a tradition that offered an alternative to the 'sad and dull' restrictions of London. This broken style was a fitting mode for depicting the disintegration caused by the war. Satirising narrow-minded and 'negative' social attitudes on the home-front, these late contributions to *The New Age* highlight Mansfield's opposition to 'women in general' and the class structures of England. Instead, Mansfield identified her writing with the 'positive' ideal of female agency; an ideal exemplified by the 'moderns' Colette and Hastings and clearly associated with the cultural life of France. In this way, Mansfield's writings challenged the idea propagated within *The New Age* of English national, cultural, and linguistic integrity.

Conclusion

In 1921, Mansfield sent a letter to Orage, calling him 'my master' and stating: 'you taught me to write, you taught me to think; you showed me what there was to be done and what *not* to do'.[216] A number of other writers also credited Orage with fostering literary talent in the 'old days' of *The New Age*. When Orage founded *The New English Weekly* in 1932, for example, he received hundreds of letters expressing a similar sentiment to Mansfield. Ashley Dukes, for instance, wrote: 'They were grand years from 1907 to 1914, when so many of us were doing our apprenticeship under your shrewd direction'.[217] Ruth Pitter asked: 'how can one praise the good genius of one's youth?'[218] About *The New Age*, E. H. Visiak recalled: 'How well one remembers the enthusiasm of the new writers it attracted! How many a name, now famous, it brought to light!'[219] Similarly, Ivor Brown observed: 'I began my job of writing under your tutelage and I am one among many who must be profoundly grateful to the example and the opportunity which your conduct of "The New Age" offered'.[220] And, about the periodical, S. G. Hobson concluded: 'It is universally recognised that it was the most stimulating and formative influence of that period'.[221]

Invariably, Mansfield's letter of thanks has been used as evidence that it was Orage who was the shaping influence in the development of her writing in its earliest phase in London. Counterbalancing this praise, however, are several letters in which Mansfield completely repudiated the early writings that she had published in *The New Age*. When Murry wrote to Mansfield in 1920 to ask whether she would consider republishing *In a German Pension*, she replied describing her earlier work as 'far too *immature*' and '*not good*

[216] *Letters*, vol. 4, p. 177.
[217] A. R. Orage archive, Leeds University, 'Letters' (file 22)
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid.

enough': 'Its positively *juvenile*', she wrote, and 'it's a lie'.[222] Unsurprisingly, this has led scholars to dismiss the 'Pension Sketches' as immature and crass. Andrew Bennett reflects the low critical esteem in which Mansfield's first collection is generally held when he writes: 'with its intrusive and opinionated author-narrator, its insistence on emphasising the coarse, hateful Bavarian bourgeoisie, its sarcasm and cutting, pointed irony, the book has, for many readers, a strictly limited interest'.[223]

I want to suggest, however, that it is impossible to disentangle Mansfield's pronouncements in 1920 about the 'Pension Sketches' and in 1921 about Orage-as-master from her violent feelings of personal animosity towards Hastings at this time. In March 1920, after Hastings contacted Murry (who was then editor of *The Athenaeum*) to ask whether she could contribute to his periodical, Mansfield also wrote to him, stating:

> Yes, it is true, I *did* love B.H. but have you utterly forgotten what I told you of her behaviour in Paris – of the last time I saw her and how because I refused to stay the night with her she bawled at me and called me a femme publique in front of those filthy Frenchmen? She is loathsome & corrupt […] Be fastidious, HURT bad people – rather than be hurt by them. Remember that B.H. is bad, has insulted us – insults us worse by thinking she has only to write to you for you to wag your tail. […] I solemnly warn you that if you stir B.H. you will discover such a nest of serpents that you will repent it. Dont forget *Our Pride*. Not that shes so important in herself; its what she stands for. Dont you see?[224]

In November 1920, Mansfield dreams of Hastings leading a drunken procession of '[v]ile people' into her parents' living room and screaming '*Femme marqué*' at her across a table.[225] The renunciation of her early contributions to *The New Age* and the simultaneous attribution of credit to Orage as her 'master', I want to suggest, were attempts by Mansfield to banish

[222] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 206.
[223] Bennett, p. 72.
[224] *Letters*, vol. 3, pp. 257-9.
[225] *Letters*, vol. 4, p. 94.

this unsettling, domineering, remembered presence from her life. In 1922, for instance, Mansfield records in her diary receiving a 'frightening' letter from Hastings, and states: 'I feared her at Chancery Lane [where the offices of *The New Age* were located]. There was a peculiar recklessness in her manner and in her tones which made me feel she would recognise no barriers at all. At the same time, of course, one is *fascinated*'.[226]

It was precisely this disregard for social conventions and 'barriers' (the intrusion into the parental bourgeois living room), however, that so 'fascinated' and attracted Mansfield to Hastings in her period of association with *The New Age*. As I have examined in this chapter, Mansfield found in Hastings a writer who had arrived at very similar ideas to herself about female suffrage, marriage, and maternity. The clear similarities between the contributions both writers made to *The New Age* forces us to reassess Mansfield's later pronouncements about her contributions to the periodical. These were not immature or naive stories owing a debt of influence to Orage; rather, they were considered, carefully developed contributions that served to augment the intellectual critique of liberal feminism spearheaded within the periodical by Hastings. In November 1918, Virginia Woolf described her relationship with Mansfield as a 'public of two'.[227] Similarly, we can describe Mansfield's association with Hastings on *The New Age* as a 'counter-public of two'. As John Carswell has argued, Mansfield and Hastings 'represent a centripetal tendency in British culture': they both moved 'from the circumference' of global space to the metropolitan centre in order 'to criticise not commend what they found. Literary passion, which consumed them both, was in them a combative one, a desire to acquire, elaborate, and employ language to etch the folly and scotch the institutions of the metropolis'.[228] This is the consistent theme to Mansfield's

[226] *Journal*, p. 285.
[227] Virginia Woolf, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 1, ed. by Anne Oliver Bell and Andrew McNellie (London: Hogarth, 1977), p. 222.
[228] Carswell, p. 273.

contributions to *The New Age*: the way in which travel undermines and disrupts metropolitan assumptions about national, cultural, and linguistic homogeneity and superiority.

As this chapter has examined, periodical publication created a space for identification between such like-minded writers, and returning to the original print contexts enables us to trace lines of convergence. Significantly, both Mansfield and Hastings anticipated by several years the 'individualist feminism' more commonly associated in histories of the period with Dora Marsden, who remained a member of the WSPU up until mid-1911 and only then articulated her famous concept of the 'Freewoman'.[229] One reason Hastings, in particular, has been all but erased from histories of feminism is because her politics cannot easily be accommodated to our modern-day idea of feminism as 'progressive' or in some way 'left-wing': as well as being informed by eugenicist thinking, her feminism was at certain points 'anti-feminist' and virulently misogynist. Being 'progressive' didn't necessarily occlude being reactionary, and Hastings's writings serve to highlight the incredible complexity of early twentieth-century feminism. As this chapter has examined, the periodical form facilitated such contradictions and abrupt about-turns, providing a space for anonymous and pseudonymous contributions that fabricated conversations and controversies and allowed for sudden changes in opinion.

Furthermore, the example of *The New Age* highlights how early twentieth-century periodicals encouraged contributors to adopt shared literary forms, such as the travelogue, aphorism, and dialogue, with identifiable political and cultural associations. As this chapter has examined, Mansfield adopted these forms in order to disrupt and subvert these expectations. The travel sketches published in 1910 and 1911, for example, caricature German national identity in order to unsettle the very idea of nationhood as a homogenising,

[229] This link with Marsden is highlighted by the fact that Stephen Swift (aka Charles Granville), as well as financing *The Freewoman*, published Mansfield's *In a German Pension* and Hastings's *The Maids' Comedy*. Granville absconded from London due to bankruptcy in 1912.

unifying force and to challenge claims of an inherently 'pure' or superior race. Similarly, the aphorisms collected in 'Bites from the Apple' articulate a radical feminist politics rather than 'bumptious masculinism'. And in the dialogues published in 1915 and 1917, Mansfield sought to disrupt ideas of English national and linguistic integrity, and of culture as an exclusively masculine domain.

In other words, Mansfield's contributions to *The New Age* were necessarily dialogic, existing in conversation and conflict with the work of others: on the one hand, she identified these writings with the feminist political analyses of Beatrice Hastings; on the other, these contributions served to disrupt established modes of discourse and introduce aspects of cultural difference into the periodical, directly challenging views espoused by other contributors and unsettling the imagined idea of an integrated national community. As such, Mansfield's contributions to *The New Age* highlight the relational model of identification and difference that early twentieth-century periodicals sustained. We cannot divorce these writings from the original historical contexts of publication, therefore; to do so would be to ignore the way in which Mansfield sought to make deliberate political and formal interventions within contemporary debates about gender and nationhood.

2. *Rhythm*

Parody and (Post)colonial Modernism

In May 1911 the art and theatre critic Huntly Carter reported in *The New Age* that the 'intuitional philosophy of Bergson – a system of philosophy for elevating and making vision more penetratingly human – has so taken possession of Paris that the spirit of it seems to fill every place'.[1] Carter summarised Henri Bergson's philosophy as the 'modern principles of continuity and *rhythm*'[2] and praised the second wave of Fauvist artists then exhibiting at the Société des Artists Indépendants, and headed by the expatriates J. D. Fergusson, Anne Estelle Rice, and Jessica Dismorr, for their 'lyrics in colour, lyrics in line, lyrics in light to the new deity, *rhythm*' (my emphasis).[3] Carter's articles elicited a response in the correspondence pages of *The New Age* from John Middleton Murry, who celebrated Paris as 'the great cosmopolis' and 'the very cross-roads of Continental ideas' and 'advanced art': he praised the new Post-Impressionist artists for having applied Bergson's philosophy with 'the most comprehensive and vital results' and delighted in the fact that the new movement had 'sufficed at once to enrage and confound its critics' in England.[4] This letter announced

[1] Huntly Carter, 'The "Blue Bird" and Bergson in Paris' in *New Age*, 9.2 (May 11, 1911), p. 44.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Carter, 'The Independants and the New Intuition in Paris' in *New Age*, 9.4 (May 25, 1911), p. 83.
[4] John Middleton Murry, 'Bergson in Paris' in *New Age*, 9.5 (June 1, 1911), pp. 115-16.

Murry's arrival on the London literary scene. In the same month of June 1911, he published the first issue of a magazine devoted to Bergson's philosophy and Fauvist art that derived its title from the 'new deity': *Rhythm*.

Murry had met the Fauvist artists Fergusson and Rice by chance on his first visit to Paris in the winter of 1910 in the Café d'Harcourt. In his autobiography, he recalled the importance of the word 'rhythm' in his early conversations with Fergusson:

> One word was recurrent in all our strange discussions – the word 'rhythm'. We never made any attempt to define it; nor even took any precaution to discover whether it had the same significance for us both. All that mattered was that it had some meaning for each of us […] and the real purpose of 'this modern movement' – a phrase frequent on F-'s lips – was to reassert the pre-eminence of rhythm.[5]

In the spring of 1911, Murry travelled to Paris with his Oxford friend Michael Sadler (later Sadleir) and convinced Fergusson to be art editor of the new magazine they were founding: with its quality reproductions of modern art in black and white, *Rhythm* 'would be *The Yellow Book* of the modern movement'.[6] On this trip, Murry wrote to another friend at Oxford, Phillip Landon, outlining what he understood by the term 'modernism':

> Modernism means, when I use it, Bergsonism in Philosophy – that is a really *Creative* Evolution with only in the end an Intuition to put the individual at its heart roots; an intuition which is the raising of Personality to the nth degree, a conscious concentration of vision. [...] Now Bergsonism stands for Post Impressionism […] it stands for a certain symbolism in poetry on the one hand; and a certain definite rejection of suggestion on the other. It stands

[5] Murry, *Between Two Worlds: An Autobiography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935), pp. 155-6.
[6] Ibid. 157.

> equally for Debussy and Maehler [sic] in music; for Fantaisisme in Modern French literature, and generally if you like for 'guts' and bloodiness.[7]

With Fergusson as art editor, *Rhythm* was striking for its visual content and could boast an impressive contributor list of Post-Impressionist artists, including Rice and Dismorr as well as Pablo Picasso and André Derain. Employing bold massed lines and depicting daring subject matter, visual contributions to the magazine conformed to the idea that modern art should be fearless and based upon '"guts" and bloodiness'.

In the manifesto piece published in the first issue of the magazine, Murry emphasised this idea when he argued that modern art should be 'brutal':

> 'Before art can be human it must learn to be brutal.' Our intention is to provide art, be it drawing, literature or criticism, which shall be vigorous, determined, which shall have its roots below the surface and be the rhythmical echo of the life with which it is in touch. Both in its pity and its brutality it shall be real.[8]

The use of an organic metaphor to describe the 'roots below the surface' emphasised the magazine's focus on the evolutionary vitalism of Bergson's philosophy, which was also central to Murry's definition of 'modernism' as that which lives below the 'outward surface' in the extended essay he wrote for the first issue of *Rhythm*, titled 'Art and Philosophy':

> The artist attains to the pure form, refining and intensifying his visions till all that is unessential dissolves away […] Modernism is not the capricious outburst of intellectual dipsomania. It penetrates beneath the outward surface of the world, and disengages the

[7] Murry to Phillip Landon (April 1911), quoted in F. A. Lea, *The Life of John Middleton Murry* (London: Methuen, 1959), p. 24.
[8] Murry, 'Aims and Ideals' in *Rhythm*, 1 (Summer 1911), p. 36.

> rhythms that lie at the heart of things, rhythms strange to the eye, unaccustomed to the ear, primitive harmonies of the world that is and lives.[9]

In *Rhythm*, therefore, 'modernism' was synonymous with the 'brutal' and 'primitive'. The quotation above is one of the first printed uses of the word 'modernism' in such a context, and *Rhythm* is significant for these early, concerted attempts to delineate and define the term. When the magazine was advertised on the back cover of *Poetry Review* in January 1912, for instance, it was as 'The UNIQUE MAGAZINE OF MODERNIST ART' and a brochure for the magazine in a later issue of *Poetry Review* promised that 'a unique attempt will be made to unite within one magazine all the parallel manifestations of modernism in every province of art, education and philosophy'.[10] This multidisciplinary focus was also foregrounded in the magazine's subtitle: 'Art, Literature, Music'.

As well as crossing disciplinary boundaries, 'modernism' was also conceptualised as a decidedly 'international' and 'cosmopolitan' movement in *Rhythm*. In particular, Murry hoped that the magazine would reflect the cosmopolitan 'republic of art' that he had come into contact with on his first visit to Paris.[11] In the spring of 1911, for instance, he excitedly stressed that *Rhythm* 'is to be kept absolutely cosmopolitan': 'We are arranging to have the paper distributed in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, London, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, New York, and Munich and *all over the world* by subscription' (my emphasis).[12] Similarly, Fergusson became art editor on the condition that the magazine would be cheap enough so that 'any herd boy – in Auckland or the extreme north of Scotland could have the latest

[9] Murry, 'Art and Philosophy' in *Rhythm*, 1 (Summer 1911), p. 12.
[10] Quoted in Andrew Thacker, 'Modern Tastes in *Rhythm*: The Visual and Verbal Culture of Advertisements in Modernist Magazines' in *Katherine Mansfield Studies*, 2 (2010), p. 11.
[11] Murry, 'Coming to London' in *Coming to London*, ed. by John Lehmann (London: Phoenic House, 1957), p. 100.
[12] Quoted in Lea, pp. 24-5.

information about modern painting from Paris'.[13] As well as these aspirations for an international distribution, the idea of 'internationalism' also became central to explications of new art in *Rhythm*. In an article on Debussy, for instance, Rollo Myers writes: 'Of course it is true, not only theoretically, but historically, that nationality has an influence upon art; but it is also true that the art which is least obviously "national" may be of the greatest permanent value'.[14] To this end, Murry welcomed contributions to *Rhythm* from anyone agreeing with the magazine's aims, '[n]o matter what their nationality'.[15]

If nationality was 'no matter', then *Rhythm* provided a liberating publication venue in which Mansfield was able to fully explore her cultural origins as well as play with different national registers in her writing. Having left New Zealand in order to pursue her ambition to become a writer, she quickly identified with the group of cosmopolitan artists associated with the magazine, especially Rice and Fergusson, who shared her experience of an exile that had been self-imposed in the interests of artistic development. Writing in *The New Age* between 1910 and 1911, Mansfield had encoded her critique of metropolitan consensus through the experience of a travelling semi-autobiographical protagonist of indeterminate nationality, eliding mention of her own New Zealand origins, which she referenced only once (in the story 'Being a Truthful Adventure'). In 1912, by contrast, Mansfield began contributing stories to *Rhythm* that were clearly set in New Zealand, depicting female colonial experience.

Three of the stories that Mansfield contributed to *Rhythm* are set in the unforgiving backblocks of New Zealand and depict or gesture towards a murder.[16] This has led critics such as Angela Smith to emphasise how Mansfield's contributions to *Rhythm* 'pivot on an

[13] Quoted in Angela Smith, '"As fastidious as though I wrote with acid": Katherine Mansfield, J. D. Fergusson and the *Rhythm* Group in Paris' in *Katherine Mansfield Studies*, 3 (2011), p. 14.

[14] Rollo H. Myers, 'The Art of Claude Debussy' in *Rhythm*, 2 (Autumn 1911), p. 29.
[15] Murry, 'What we have tried to do' in *Rhythm*, 3 (Winter 1911), p. 36.
[16] These stories include: 'The Woman at the Store', 'Ole Underwood', and 'Millie' (published in the successor to *Rhythm*, *The Blue Review*).

obvious barbarism': these stories, it has long been argued, were written in response to *Rhythm*'s edict that art must be 'brutal' and 'primitive'.[17] As this chapter examines, however, Mansfield's contributions to *Rhythm* occupy a far more precarious and ambiguous relation to modernist primitivism than this interpretation suggests. Smith also reflects a critical consensus about *Rhythm* when she writes: 'though *Rhythm* had no specific political affiliations, its stance was by implication anti-colonial'.[18] To support this claim, she quotes statements made by Fergusson about his Scottish cultural nationalism from the 1940s to '60s and analyses Mansfield's contributions to the magazine, made from the fourth issue published in the spring of 1912. This argument makes the mistake of anachronistically ascribing intention to Fergusson's association with the magazine from statements made decades later and of reading Mansfield's intervention within *Rhythm* as a continuous development from earlier issues.

As this chapter demonstrates, assumptions that *Rhythm* embodied an egalitarian 'republic' or was 'by implication anti-colonial' simply will not stand against analysis. The publication of articles in French and Italian, for instance, placed the magazine beyond the reach of the average 'herd boy' in Auckland or Scotland, and the consistent focus on Paris as the preeminent centre of new art and ideas belied a metropolitan focus that undermined the idealistic vision of democratic access from 'all over the world'. Furthermore, contributors to *Rhythm* consistently employed discursive and visual tropes of geographical expansion and spatial conquest, which forces us to question the extent to which the magazine functioned as an egalitarian space free from either gendered constraints or the ideology of imperialism. In line with Murry's emphasis on the 'brutal' and 'primitive' in art, for example, contributors to the magazine frequently deployed the rhetoric of the colonial quest narrative to describe the

[17] Smith, *Katherine Mansfield: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 95.
[18] Smith, 'Fauvism and Cultural Nationalism' in *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 4.1 (June 2002), p. 49.

modernist aesthetic project, depicting the roving gaze of the male pioneer as an empowering position from which to dominate both land and the female body. Troublingly, on occasions, Mansfield also clearly participated in this discourse. After becoming assistant editor of the magazine in June 1912, for instance, she co-authored an editorial essay with Murry in which they praised the 'artists [who] sail in stately golden ships over this familiar and adventurous ocean' in a 'courageous acceptance of the unexplored'.[19] This is evidence of the highly ambivalent position that Mansfield occupied within *Rhythm*: in one sense, her contributions highlight a desire to become integrated into the 'imagined community' of the metropolitan magazine; in another, though, her contributions clearly complicate and disrupt its spatial imaginaries and primitivist aesthetics. Far from responding to the editorial call for 'brutal' and 'primitive' art, this chapter argues, Mansfield's contributions to the magazine looked to negotiate an ambiguous, liminal position between metropolitan centre and colonial periphery; in this way, she sought to unsettle metropolitan ideas about race and gender, as well as frustrate expectations about the colonial 'other' and barbaric 'primitive'.

In particular, this chapter examines how Mansfield used parody and satire as modes of critique throughout her contributions to *Rhythm*, often adopting the tropes of imperial discourse in order to encode anti-colonial, anti-imperialist political commitments. As Janet Wilson has argued, we must look to position 'Mansfield as a (post)colonial modernist writer whose anticipatory discourse demonstrates a consciousness about resistance that precedes the founding of the postcolonial state; that is, an already known postcolonial vision'.[20] In the 'parodic translations' that Mansfield composed for *Rhythm* under the pseudonym 'Boris Petrovsky', for instance, she identified her writings with the minor literatures of Eastern Europe as well as nationalist movements of political and cultural resistance to imperial

[19] (53) *Writings*, p. 733.
[20] Janet Wilson, 'Introduction' in *Katherine Mansfield and the (Post)colonial*, ed. by Janet Wilson, Gerri Kimber and Delia da Sousa Correa (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University press, 2013), p. 1.

hegemony; these contributions not only anticipate the founding of the postcolonial nation state, but also open up a liminal space between centre and periphery that Mansfield employed in her other poetry contributions to the magazine in order to negotiate the ambiguities of her own cultural nationalism. Significantly, Mansfield's critique of imperialism in these fraudulent translations shows her mapping her postcolonial vision onto the spaces of Europe; it shows her utilising her experience as a colonial writer in order to expose the power dynamics internal to Europe between coloniser and colonised. As such, these translations help us to reposition Mansfield more decisively as *both* a colonial and European writer, translating her experience of colonialism into the metropolitan spaces of Europe. This conjunction of Mansfield as a colonial-metropolitan modernist is further illuminated by her short story contributions to *Rhythm*, which depict life in New Zealand. These stories parody the colonial melodrama and horse and saddle genres synonymous with *The Bulletin* in order to unsettle the masculine gaze and colonial quest narrative that permeated visual illustrations and other written contributions to *Rhythm*, in which the female body is universally equated with verdant landscapes and virgin territories. As is examined in the second section of this chapter, Mansfield's stories offer a radical critique of the colonial spatial imaginary upon which *Rhythm* had been founded whilst also enacting an uneasy negotiation between her possible identification as either a 'colonial' or 'metropolitan' writer. Finally, the last section of the chapter examines the ways in which Mansfield appropriated and parodied stereotypes of the colonial 'other' in order to undercut the tropes of modernist primitivism and lampoon the cultural imperialism of the English metropolitan elite in her satire 'Sunday Lunch'.

Mansfield's contributions to *Rhythm* highlight how early twentieth-century periodical culture facilitated modes of parody and satire, providing a space for authorial self-fashioning and textual recirculation. In these parodic writings, Mansfield formulates alternative modes of imagined affiliation that transcend national borders and linguistic barriers, exposing the

logic of empire and exploring postcolonial possibilities. As such, these writings highlight the extent to which Mansfield's work was motivated by intercultural contact and translational, transnational exchange. If *Rhythm* was 'by implication anti-colonial', this chapter argues, then this was predominantly due to the intervention made by Mansfield from the fourth issue, with contributions that dissolve rigid centre-periphery binaries and bring metropolitan Europe into contact with the colonial 'other'.

Parodic Translation

When Mansfield first began publishing in *Rhythm* in the spring of 1912, she contributed a short story set in the backblocks of New Zealand, 'The Woman at the Store', together with two poems 'Translated from the Russian of Boris Petrovsky'. These were fake translations, written by Mansfield herself. 'Boris Petrovsky' was the first pseudonym Mansfield used in *Rhythm*, a *nom de plume* that she returned to on four other occasions in the magazine. And the mask continues to trick readers. As recently as 2009, in his chapter on *Rhythm* in the first volume of *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, Peter Brooker inaccurately observed: 'translations, probably by Mansfield, of poems by Boris Petrovsky served, once more, to confirm the magazine's internationalism'.[21] The confusion most likely arises out of the fact that Mansfield's poetry, in comparison to her prose, has received very little critical attention; whereas the pseudonymous prose pieces she contributed to *Rhythm* have all been republished and examined extensively, the 'Boris Petrovsky' poems remain relatively obscure in Mansfield's oeuvre.

[21] Peter Brooker, 'Harmony, Discord, and Difference: *Rhythm* (1911-13), *The Blue Review* (1913), and *The Signature* (1915)' in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume I: Britain and Ireland, 1880-1955*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 316.

Mansfield scholars tend to agree with Gerri Kimber that the 'reason for the Russian-sounding pseudonym is unclear'.[22] In comparison, the other pseudonyms used by Mansfield in *Rhythm* can be easily identified, and the reasons for their use readily accounted for. The surname of 'Lili Heron' refers to the middle name of Mansfield's brother and the idealised family home of the 'Heron' that she later imagined after his death, with the connotations of innocence attached to the lily flower reflecting the content of the two stories in which Mansfield used the pseudonym, 'How Pearl Button Was Kidnapped' and 'The Little Girl'. Similarly, the nickname 'The Tiger' that Mansfield shared with Murry provided her with a ferocious persona that resonated with the magazine's focus on *les Fauves* (the wild beasts) and evoked the eat-or-be-eaten world of the London literati depicted in 'Sunday Lunch'.

Why did Mansfield choose the 'Russian-sounding' pseudonym of 'Boris Petrovsky'? What are the possible origins of this imagined name? And why did she decide to frame these poems as fraudulent translations? In this section of the chapter, I argue that the Petrovsky poems can be categorised as 'parodic translations' that can be situated against very specific publishing and political-historical contexts. Employing the Petrovsky pseudonym, Mansfield associated her work with the 'minor literatures' of Eastern Europe, opening up a liminal space in her poetry contributions to *Rhythm* in which she was able to reflect upon the ambivalence of her own cultural nationalism.

In the first instance, the persona of 'Boris Petrovsky' enabled Mansfield to experiment with writing in a different national register and to practice a certain kind of self-fashioning. As Faith Binckes has argued, this serves as a reminder that the 'internationalism' that Brooker identifies as integral to *Rhythm* 'was also about image and performance'.[23] In

[22] Gerri Kimber, 'Mansfield, *Rhythm* and the Émigré Connection', in *Katherine Mansfield and Literary Modernism*, ed. by Janet Wilson, Gerri Kimber, and Susan Reid (London; New York: Continuum, 2011), p. 17.
[23] Faith Binckes, *Modernism, Magazines, and the British Avant-Garde: Reading* Rhythm, *1910-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 81.

May 1912, Mansfield exhibited her proclivity towards everyday performance when she travelled to Paris in order to meet the cosmopolitan writers and artists who made up the body of contributors to the magazine. The American artist Anne Estelle Rice later recalled that Mansfield presented herself as 'a compelling and vivid personality' by first cultivating the image of the 'stranger, the girl from New Zealand'.[24] On her second meeting with Mansfield, however, Rice was forced to make a readjustment to this initial impression of a settled national identity:

> We had a rendezvous at the 'Closerie des Lilas' and, at the appointed time, and after a brief search, I saw a woman in a black cloak, wearing a black turban with a white fez; only the yashmak was missing. A hasty adjustment to a new acquaintance had to be made, for this was Katherine Mansfield's fez day. [...] Dressing-up was a very important part of Katherine Mansfield's imaginative nature. She enjoyed being Katoushka in a peasant's costume of brilliant colour – yards and yards of it – convincingly using a few Russian words to give local colour; or a *femme fatale* with a sequin scarf around her head, and a long black dress, sinuously reclining on a sofa. Many were the changes.[25]

This penchant for 'dressing-up' is materially imprinted on the pages of *Rhythm* in the many pseudonyms Mansfield used for her contributions. As the quotation above highlights, Mansfield readily identified with Russia, calling herself at various times 'Katoushka', 'Katerina', 'Yekaterina', 'Kissienka', and 'Katya'.[26] The 'Boris Petrovsky' pseudonym was part of this multiplication. In the first instance, therefore, Mansfield's use of the pseudonym was linked to the performance and projection of a shifting authorial identity that enabled her to experiment with a new mode of writing and to forge a position for herself within the international avant-garde promoted by *Rhythm*.

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[24] Anne Estelle Rice, 'Memories of Katherine Mansfield' in *Adam International Review*, 300 (1965), p. 76.
[25] Ibid. 77.
[26] See Gerri Kimber, 'Circles of Influence: Katherine Mansfield, S.S. Koteliansky and Russia' in *Katherine Mansfield and Literary Influence*, ed. by Sarah Ailwood and Melinda Harvey (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 78-90.

Russia occupied a central place within this vision of the avant-garde. In the same issue of *Rhythm* in which the first Petrovsky poems were printed, as Caroline Maclean has observed, an article on Kandinsky by Sadler 'positioned the magazine at the heart of a new spiritually-inflected Russian aesthetics'.[27] Likewise, in review articles and illustrative contributions, *Rhythm* consistently focused on the productions of the Ballets Russes, which offered a model of a cross-disciplinary and thoroughly international artistic community that the magazine sought to emulate. Also printed in *Rhythm* are lithographs by the Russian 'neo-primitives' Natalia Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov, as well as a translation of prose by the Russian writer Leonid Andreev. And, once she became assistant editor from the fifth issue of the magazine, Mansfield used her personal contacts to secure a correspondent for Russia, Michael Lykiardopoulos, secretary to the directors of the Moscow Art Theatre.[28] Against this context, Mansfield's translations 'from the Russian' were entirely apposite.

Among Mansfield's other contributions to *Rhythm* is a story that is highly evocative of Chekhov, titled 'Spring in a Dream', and a set of three stories under the collective title 'Tales of a Courtyard' that reflect the contemporary vogue for Dostoevsky, with one of the characters even named 'Feodor' in a clear allusion to the novelist. Similarly, Frank Harris contributed a short story to the magazine titled 'The Holy Man (After Tolstoi)', a version of Tolstoy's 'The Three Hermits'. This highlights the fact that the magazine's 'internationalism' was consistently based upon 'image and performance': excepting the translation from Andreev, 'Russian' prose contributions to *Rhythm* were all simulated versions of a perceived national style. Again, therefore, Mansfield's fake translations 'from the Russian' were fitting entries into *Rhythm*, projecting a constructed image of the magazine's internationalism.

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[27] Caroline Maclean, 'Russian Aesthetics in Britain: Kandinsky, Sadleir, and *Rhythm*' in *Russia in Britain, 1880-1940: From Melodrama to Modernism*, ed. by Rebecca Beasley and Philip Ross Bullock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 147.

[28] As Kimber notes, Mansfield probably met Lykiardopoulos through Aleister Crowley (Kimber, 'Mansfield, *Rhythm* and the Émigré Connection', p. 20)

There was a more immediate publication context that informed the Petrovsky poems, however. In an introduction to an expanded edition of Mansfield's poems that he published in 1930, Murry recalled:

> I remember her telling me when we first met that the beautiful pieces now gathered together as 'Poems, 1911-13' had been refused, because they were unrhymed, by the only editor who used to accept her work. He wanted her to write nothing but satirical prose. This treatment made her very reserved about her verses. Those she published in *Rhythm* appeared as translations from an imaginary Russian called Boris Petrovsky.[29]

The attempt at subtlety here fails completely: it would have been known to all that the 'editor' was Orage. The poems Mansfield published under the 'Boris Petrovsky' pseudonym were directly influenced by translations printed in *The New Age* from May 1911 by the multilingual Paul Selver, whose first contributions appeared in the same issue of the periodical as Mansfield's story 'A Birthday'. These four poems were grouped under the title 'Poems from the Slavonic' and were all translations from the Czech verse of Petr Bezruč. Mansfield scholars have long recognised Selver's translations as a direct source of influence for her Petrovsky poems.[30] What I want to suggest here is that Selver's first contributions to *The New Age* also provided Mansfield with the pseudonym 'Boris Petrovsky': she reverses the initials of Petr Bezruč, then uses the Christian name of 'Petr' for the surname 'Petrovsky', both of which derive from the Greek word 'Petros'.[31] Moreover, 'Petrovsky' is a locational name specific to Poland.[32] As such, Mansfield's poems clearly referenced the many 'Polish Fragments' published in *The New Age* by Selver.[33] These allusions to Selver's translations

[29] Murry, 'Introduction' in *Poems by Katherine Mansfield*, ed. by John Middleton Murry (London: Constable, 1930), pp. xii-xiii.
[30] See, for example, Joanna Woods, *Katerina: The Russian World of Katherine Mansfield* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001), p. 95.
[31] http://www.surnamedb.com/Surname/Petrovsky [August 29, 2014]
[32] Ibid.
[33] See, for example, Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer, 'Czardas. A Fragment', trans. by P. Selver in *New Age*, 9.7 (June 15, 1911), p. 161.

suggest that Mansfield first intended the Petrovsky poems to be included in the regular 'Pastiche' section at the back of *The New Age*, to which she contributed on several other occasions. Whilst the Petrovsky poems were Mansfield's own creations, therefore, they were also intended to be read as imitations, with all the exaggeration that their categorisation as 'Pastiche' facilitated. Once these poems are removed from this context, by being framed as Mansfield's own 'Poems, 1911-13', for example, they become radically different texts.

The translations by Paul Selver first published in *The New Age* were later collected in *An Anthology of Modern Bohemian Poetry* (1912), which Mansfield reviewed for *Rhythm*. The first of the Petrovsky poems by Mansfield, titled 'Very Early Spring', is a parody of the significant number of 'Bohemian' poems that focus on nature and the seasons, such as Karel Červinka's 'Yearning in Early Spring', Fr. Kvapil's 'Spring Song', Julius Zeyer's 'In Spring', and Jaroslav Vrchlický's 'Spring Song'.[34] Mansfield's accompanying poem, 'The Awakening River', depicts gulls 'mad-in-love with the river', '[w]heeling and flying' with 'shining wings' and '[c]rying the rapture of the boundless ocean'.[35] This 'translation' parodies poems such as Eliška Krásnohorská's 'Song' ('ye boisterous flock of birds') and Otakar Březina's 'Dithyramb of the Worlds' ('On the shores of a river ecstatic, / That flies in the outstretched embrace / Of thine ocean!').[36] And 'The Earth-Child in the Grass', in which a young girl becomes one with the grass in death, achieving a kind of union with her 'lover' who lies with 'the green blades pressed against his body', clearly resembles Petr Bezruč's 'Who Will Take My Place?' ('Above me the grass, when my body decays').[37] Subsequently, Mansfield used the Petrovsky pseudonym for 'To God the Father' (discussed below) and for 'Jangling Memory' and 'There Was a Child Once', two poems obviously based upon her

[34] (46) *Writings*, p. 78.
[35] (47) *Writings*, p. 78.
[36] Eliška Krásnohorská, 'Song' in *An Anthology of Modern Bohemian Poetry*, ed. by Paul Selver (London: Henry J. Drane, 1912), p. 91; Otakar Březina, 'Dithyramb of the Worlds' in *An Anthology of Modern Bohemian Poetry*, p. 50.
[37] (60) *Writings*, p. 80; Petr Bezruč, 'Who Will Take My Place?' in *An Anthology of Modern Bohemian Poetry*, p. 33.

previous relationship with William Orton. Mansfield scholars have long recognised the odd disjunction in these poems between the female voice and the male signature of 'Boris Petrovsky'.[38] Indeed, these fraudulent translations force us to consider the nature of identity and to question the borderlines between authorial self-exposure and pseudonymous disguise. How are we to interpret this play of identities throughout the Petrovsky poems? Furthermore, what is the significance of Mansfield parodying an eclectic set of translations, rather than referencing any single original text?

To begin to answer these questions, David Lloyd's study of the emergence of Irish cultural nationalism in the work of James Clarence Mangan provides a useful framework for interpretation. Lloyd notes that a significant proportion of writings by Mangan can be classified as 'fraudulent translations': these include poems purporting to be translated from German that Mangan 'attributed to the pseudonymic poets "Selber" (self) and "Drechsler" (turner, or, more appropriately, elaborator)'.[39] These fake translations challenge the 'ideal that the translated text should in some sense or other be the "equivalent" of the source text':

> The notion of 'equivalence' is crucial to a theory of translation for which the central issue is the primacy of the original and the conservation of its authenticity in the secondary text which is its translation. […] Such idealism, however, retains the trace of precisely what is at stake in translation generally speaking, that is, the fundamental opacity of one language to another, or their basic incommensurability. If two languages, let alone two cultures, are irreconcilably different, on what ground is one to measure the equivalence of translation to original?[40]

In contrast, what Lloyd terms the 'parodic translation' maintains the play of linguistic and cultural difference by foregrounding 'the persistence of a dependent relationship to an anterior text' and holding 'open the oscillation between likeness and strangeness that defines

[38] See, for example, Gerri Kimber and Angela Smith, in *Writings*, p. 84.
[39] David Lloyd, *Nationalism and Minor Literature: James Clarence Mangan and the Emergence of Irish Cultural Nationalism* (London: University of California Press, 1987), p. 103.
[40] Ibid. 104.

the peculiar aura of the parallel text'.[41] Unlike the translated text that aspires to 'achieve an equivalence with the original so perfect, indeed, as to efface it', the parodic translation is 'marked by its refusal ever to supplant entirely the text on which it depends, so that no complete supersession of the original text takes place such as would finally reconstitute the parody or translation as itself an original'.[42] Lloyd suggests that Mangan's 'distortive' and 'refractive' translations illuminate the intermediate, 'parodic' stage in the three 'epochs' of progression in Goethe's theory of translation, in which the translator attempts to assume the position of the foreigner, but merely ends up appropriating and reproducing the foreign in his or her own sense; in which, as such, the text continually displays its own failure to achieve a perfect equivalence with, and supersession of, an original.[43]

Mangan's parodic translations become political, Lloyd argues, precisely because they displace notions of originality and autonomy. The defining characteristic of any 'major literature' is that it 'should be in some manner directed toward the production of an autonomous ethical identity for the subject'.[44] This is exemplified by the *Bildungsroman*, whereby the individual achieves ethical autonomy through aesthetic education (*Bildung*). The motif of 'self-realisation' in the *Bildungsroman* becomes a reciprocal allegory for the realisation of a unified and rational political State, as examined in detail by critics such as Franco Moretti and Jed Esty.[45] In *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man,* for instance, Schiller argues that aesthetic education gives a finished form to both the modern subject and the modern State. Alongside this 'narrative representation of the attainment of autonomy', Lloyd also observes, 'emerges the requirement that the work itself be autonomous, both self-

[41] Ibid. 115.
[42] Ibid. 114-15.
[43] Ibid. 113.
[44] Ibid. 19.
[45] Franco Moretti, *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture* (London: Verso, 1987); Jed Esty, *Unseasonable Youth: Modernism, Colonialism, and the Fiction of Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

contained and original': 'formal development is seen as the measure of political maturity'.[46] It is this logic that underpins Matthew Arnold's pronouncements that the failure of 'the Celtic races' to reach a 'sound and satisfying' aesthetic marks their readiness to be subordinated to a 'more politically, formatively, directed' culture.[47] In other words, notions of the originality and autonomy of the self, society and text not only shape literary canons but also bolster the political imperatives of imperialism.

Positioned outside or against the canon and imperial hegemony, the writers of 'minor literature' adopt literary strategies, such as parody, translation, and citation, which are designed to challenge these notions of originality and autonomy. What is common to all these strategies, Lloyd suggests, is the 'perpetuation of non-identity': a 'refusal to ground the possibility of identity on the recovery of origins, a strategy that evokes a critique of that narrative paradigm of major literature, the reproduction of an original or essential identity at a higher and self-conscious level'.[48] In the case of parodic translation, for instance, the 'multiplication of ungrounded appearances becomes the stimulus to an assiduous cultivation of suspicion with regard to the formative (*bildend*) power of originality and authenticity'.[49] This is at the heart of the Irish cultural nationalism fostered by Mangan's writings, as Lloyd perceives it: detached from any notion of an original or stable identity, Mangan's parodic translations challenge both the ideal of equivalence and assumptions of imperial hegemony.

Mansfield's poetry contributions to *Rhythm* conform to this idea of the 'parodic translation' by appropriating the 'foreign' to the autobiographical and simultaneously defying the notion of a stable authorial identity. In the introduction to his anthology, for example, Selver observes that the name 'Petr Bezruč' was itself a pseudonym, 'adopted by a postal

[46] Lloyd, pp. 19; 9.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid. 22.
[49] Ibid. 128.

official of Brünn in Moravia', and that the poet's personality, as a result, is 'shrouded in a certain amount of mystery'.[50] Mansfield's pseudonym of 'Boris Petrovsky' was a variation upon a pseudonym, therefore: a multiplication of non-identity, in which the notion of an original and stable 'author' is continually deferred and displaced. In her review of Selver's anthology, moreover, Mansfield critiques the ideal of equivalence:

> 'It is a noble, highly cultivated language, of whose kinship Russia may well be proud. Its facility for representing the finest shades of thought renders it peculiarly adaptable to lyric poetry.' Thus Mr Selver, speaking of the Bohemian language in the introduction to his anthology; and it is just this facility that makes his task of translation so extremely difficult. A good translation is not unlike a good reproduction of a drawing. It is dependent for success upon many of the same qualities – simple and sure treatment, directness of purpose, very clear treatment of the subject, preferably on a broad scale.[51]

Mansfield here highlights the main problem of translation: that the 'finest shades of thought' revealed in one language or culture cannot be communicated in the same way in another. The translation can never take the place of the source text. Instead, a good translation is like a 'reproduction' and is 'dependent': it can never be self-contained, original, or autonomous. In the introduction to his anthology, by contrast, Selver observes: 'As regards the translations themselves, *they have been made as literal as possible*, and the metres of the originals have been reproduced as far as the varying rhythms of the two languages permitted' (my emphasis).[52] Regarding the poems of Vileslav Hálek, for instance, Selver laments that 'the contents of his verse are almost too fragile to endure the ordeal of transformation into another language. What in the original is tender and sentimental appears almost grotesque and

[50] Paul Selver, 'Modern Bohemian Poetry' in *An Anthology of Modern Bohemian Poetry*, p. 16.
[51] (68) *Writings*, p. 436.
[52] Selver, p. 4.

ridiculous when translated'.[53] This attempt to force a 'literal' equivalence between different languages produces what Mansfield identifies as Selver's 'uneven labours'.[54]

Despite these uneven labours, Mansfield finds 'Bohemian poetry' on the whole 'so vivid, its life so intense and sincere': 'it is the spirit of them which, to me, goes to the heart like the music of the Bohemian people, with the same ultimate and melancholy appeal'.[55] Again, Mansfield uses the analogy of another artistic discipline to reflect her sense of what a 'good translation' should aspire towards: it should be like a reproduction of a drawing or the music of a people, the trans-medial similes underscoring her emphasis on 'trans'-lation as a creative practice that moves 'between' or 'across' languages and cultures. Rather than superseding the original text, Mansfield suggests, a good translation is the product of a refractory process that transforms both the source and target cultures; transformation is not an 'ordeal' for Mansfield, but the necessary process by which translation conveys the 'spirit' and 'life' of the source culture to a new audience in a new form, making an 'appeal' that 'goes to the heart'.

In her review of Selver's anthology, Mansfield also demonstrates her awareness of how translation practices constitute the literary canon, observing: 'the works of the more obscure writers – of men who have escaped the blessed tradition of the folk song, to express more consciously, perhaps, the "finest shades" – he [Selver] has failed to interpret'.[56] As outlined above, ideals of originality and equivalence in translation are narrative paradigms of canonical 'major literature' that serve to reproduce imperial hegemony at the political level. Employing the double-cipher of a pseudonym within a 'translated' text, Mansfield's Petrovsky poems served to unsettle and undercut these ideals. Whilst these writings parody

[53] Ibid. 11.
[54] (68) *Writings*, p. 436.
[55] Ibid. 437.
[56] Ibid. 436.

the tropes of 'Bohemian' poetry, for example, none of them faithfully reproduces a single 'original'. Framed in this way, these poems revel in the multiplication of non-identity and the absence of originals, illuminating the refractive reproducibility of translation more widely. As such, Mansfield's fraudulent translations become a subversive space in which she aligns her writing against the narrative paradigms of 'major literature' and the political paradigms of imperial hegemony. This resistance to imperialism in Mansfield's parodic translations can be traced in her references to specific cultural and national traditions.

In creating the Petrovsky poems, Mansfield followed her own advice for writing translations: each poem is given a 'simple and sure' and 'very clear treatment of the subject' that generates a tonal resemblance to the parallel text. The apparent naivety and the formal simplicity of these poems, with their almost exclusive focus on nature and childhood, however, belie the fact that they were quite consciously positioned against very specific political-historical contexts. Imitating Selver's translations, Mansfield aligned her work with poems originally written in western Slavonic languages, such as Czech, Polish, Slovakian, and Hungarian. As Selver observes, these writers aimed 'to kindle the spark of patriotism in the hearts of the people, and the nature of their poetry was in accordance with this plan'.[57] Invariably, therefore, these poets pursued an agenda of cultural nationalism, in direct opposition to the imperial hegemonies of Prussia to the West and Russia to the East. In particular, Mansfield would have identified with the 'Young Poland' movement, spearheaded at the turn of the twentieth century by the poet, playwright, painter, and designer Stanisław Wyspiański (1869-1907). Mansfield had first been introduced to the works and ideas of Wyspiański when she met the Polish critic and translator Floryan Sobieniowski whilst in Bavaria in 1909; through Mansfield, Sobieniowski became *Rhythm*'s correspondent for Poland in 1912, helping to secure agents for the magazine in Warsaw and Kraków.

[57] Selver, p. 10.

Sobieniowski's portrait was printed in *Rhythm* midway through Mansfield's 'Spring in a Dream', as if to underline the 'Slavic' inspiration of the story. And when Sobieniowski himself contributed to the magazine, it was with a biography of Wyspiański. As Kimber notes, Sobieniowski and Mansfield even planned to devote an entire issue of *Rhythm* to Wyspiański, but the magazine folded before this plan could be put into effect.[58] In the article on Wyspiański that did see publication, Sobieniowski describes the artist-poet as the 'creator of new values for the Polish consciousness': 'his literary creation had two "Leitmotiven" – one, the necessity for close connection with national tradition; the second, the awakening of independence'.[59] Wyspiański's innovations, Sobieniowski tells us, followed a 'period of hateful servility' when the 'younger generation were taught that they must not speak of love for their home' and when 'the oppression of the victorious enemy and the depressing consciousness of their own weakness carried Polish thought along mistaken paths'.[60] Wyspiański died in 1907 after a period of great civil unrest: following the failed revolution of 1905-6, the Polish Socialist Party had been founded and 'openly set forth a program of Polish independence, formed battle squads, and engaged in a massive armed struggle against the Russian administration, police, and their collaborators'.[61] Mansfield was well aware of this history. In 1909, for instance, she composed the poem that has become her most famous, 'To Stanisław Wyspiański', in which she declared: 'I sing your praises, Magnificent warrior; I proclaim your triumphant battle'.[62]

As a locational name of Poland, the 'Petrovsky' pseudonym aligned Mansfield's fake translations with this Polish tradition of patriotic resistance to the imperial hegemonies of

[58] Kimber, '"That Pole outside our door": Floryan Sobieniowski and Katherine Mansfield' in *Katherine Mansfield and Continental Europe*, ed. by Janka Kascakova and Gerri Kimber (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 76.
[59] Floryan Sobieniowski, 'Stanislaw Wyspianski – 1868-1907' in *Rhythm*, 11 (Dec. 1912), pp. 311, 316.
[60] Ibid. 315-6.
[61] Michael J. Mikoś, *Polish Literature from 1864 to 1918: Realism and Young Poland. An Anthology* (Bloomington, Indiana: Slavica, 2006), p. 237.
[62] *Writings*, p. 74.

Prussia and Russia. This is further underlined by the fact that Mansfield used the Petrovsky pseudonym to sign a poem contributed to *Rhythm* titled 'To God the Father' that Kimber has identified as having been directly inspired by a stained glass window in Kraków designed by Wyspiański, titled 'God the Father – Let it Be'.[63] Whilst Mansfield probably saw this design in reproduction, as Kimber also notes, it is entirely possible that she travelled with Sobieniowski to Poland in late 1909: in November, for example, she writes to her younger sister Jeanne to thank her for birthday money with which she had bought 'a fat Polish dictionary with a green leather binding [which] goes about with me every day'.[64] Mansfield's attempts to learn Polish are corroborated by Sobieniowski in an introduction to a translation of 'To Stanisław Wyspiański' that he published in a Warsaw weekly in December 1910. Sobieniowski writes that Mansfield 'decided to learn the Polish language' after gaining 'a superficial knowledge of our history' and 'literature from a few French, English and German translations'.[65] Sobieniowski ends this introduction to Mansfield's poem by observing that it reveals 'there is only one common language for all human beings, understood in every geographical longitude and latitude – the language of action'.[66]

Mansfield looked to situate the Petrovsky poems within this revolutionary tradition of 'action' stretching beyond national borders and linguistic barriers, which explains why her 'Polish' poems are positioned as translations 'from the Russian'. Many of the nationalist poets of Eastern Europe in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries identified themselves first and foremost as Slavs, sharing a common culture with Russia that was integral to their own patriotism. As Selver observes of the Czech poet Eliška Krásnohorská, for instance: 'Patriotism is the key-note of her poetry. She has shown her sympathy with the

[63] Kimber, 'Mansfield, *Rhythm* and the Émigré Connection', p. 24.
[64] *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 93.
[65] Quoted in Jeffrey Meyers, 'Katherine Mansfield's "To Stanislaw Wyspianski"' in *Modern Fiction Studies*, 24.3 (Autumn 1978), p. 340.
[66] Ibid.

Slavonic cause in a practical manner by learning Russian and Polish'.[67] Identification with the language and culture of Russia did not necessarily equate to support for its political regime, therefore. This was particularly the case following the quashed revolution of 1905, when many avant-garde artists, such as Sergei Diaghilev and Goncharova, left Russia to develop their art in more liberating environs, such as Paris. Through the Petrovsky poems, then, Mansfield identified her writing with a dissident tradition common to both Poland and Russia. It is quite possible, for example, that she intended the name 'Petrovsky' to echo the revolutionary 'Petrashevsky Circle' to which Dostoevsky had been a member and for which he had suffered exile in Siberia. Furthermore, when Mansfield contributed a parody of Gogol to *The New Age* in July 1912, she centred the narrative on an enigmatic female stranger, on the run from the Russian authorities, named Olga Petrovska.[68] By using this name, giving a contrived feminine ending to the masculine name Petrovsky, Mansfield clearly identified her own writing with the 'Boris Petrovsky' poems published in *Rhythm* only a matter of weeks before, establishing an intertextual dialogue across periodicals. When contextualised against the 'Boris Petrovsky' pseudonym used in *Rhythm*, the Olga Petrovska character in 'Green Goggles' is revealed as a distorted self-portrait of Mansfield: the enigmatic and radical female stranger confronting an uncertain exile, the green goggles she wears symbolising her unique perspective on and perception of the world. Of the many masks used by Mansfield throughout her writing career, this is one that has gone entirely unnoticed by previous critics.

What does this identification with the dissident political movements of Eastern Europe and Russia tell us about Mansfield's own cultural nationalism? In his introduction to Mansfield's 'To Stanisław Wyspiański', Sobieniowski writes: 'The young English poetess who writes under the pseudonym of K. Mansfield, of Irish origin and French name –

[67] Selver, p. 20.
[68] (52) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 278.

considered New Zealand her fatherland'.[69] This includes a telling biographical inaccuracy: though Mansfield's real name (Beauchamp) was indeed French, her 'origin' was not Irish. Whether this was a lie Mansfield fed to Sobieniowski or was his own creation, this description of Mansfield as Irish established her for a Polish readership as a writer motivated by the same cultural project as Wyspiański, one of resistance to imperial hegemony (Ireland / Britain, Poland / Russia).[70] In 'To Stanisław Wyspiański', Mansfield writes:

> From the other side of the world,
> From a little island cradled in the giant sea bosom,
> From a little land with no history,
> (Making its own history, slowly and clumsily
> Piecing together this and that, finding the pattern, solving the problem,
> Like a child with a box of bricks),
> I, a woman, with the taint of the pioneer in my blood,
> Full of a youthful strength that wars with itself and is lawless,
> I sing your praises, Magnificent warrior; I proclaim your triumphant battle.[71]

The repetition of 'From' in the poem emphasises a relational concept of space in which the 'little island' on 'the other side of the world' is clearly the denigrated half of the binary opposition. Moreover, the conventional simile infantilising the colony associates it with underdevelopment: New Zealand is devoid of a grand narrative, Mansfield suggests, its history being a 'problem' to be solved and pieced together. These associations demonstrate how ready Mansfield was to appropriate imperialist tropes denigrating the colony. By

[69] Quoted in Meyers, 'Katherine Mansfield's "To Stanislaw Wyspianski"', p. 340.
[70] For Mansfield's identification with the political struggle for Irish independence, see *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 265 ('It is still awfully difficult to credit what has happened and what is happening in Ireland. One cant get round it – This shooting, Beatrice, this incredible shooting of people! […] I can understand how it must fill your thoughts – for if Ireland were New Zealand and such a thing had happened there … it would mean the same for me – It would really (as *un*fortunately George-Out-of-Wells would say) Matter Tremendously…') and p. 271 ('Heavens! What a sight it was but they all looked very happy and they all wore bunches of green ribbon or green badges – I very nearly joined them and I rather wish I had.')
[71] *Writings*, p. 74.

describing herself as having 'the *taint* of the pioneer in [her] blood', however, she both suggests personal culpability and subverts the received notion of imperial power as integrated. In singing the praises of the heroic Polish patriot, therefore, Mansfield highlights how her own cultural nationalism has been compromised by the 'taint' of settlement, a history that creates a divided identity that 'wars with itself and is lawless'. Playing with different identities and 'dressing-up' in Mansfield's writing was not simply a matter of parody and imitation, therefore: it was also about conveying this sense of an identity divided against itself, an identity caught in the liminal space between the centre of imperialism and the colonial periphery. Like 'parodic translation', then, 'To Stanisław Wyspiański' oscillates between likeness and strangeness, maintaining 'the play of differences'.

This ambivalence characterises almost all of Mansfield's other poetry contributions to *Rhythm*. In the poem 'Sea Song', for example, 'Memory' is personified as an old woman searching 'for something' with her 'withered claw' along the shoreline: 'Memory dwells in my far away home, / She is nothing to do with me'.[72] Similarly, the sea becomes an anti-maternal figure and symbol of cruel exile in the poems 'The Sea Child' and 'Sea': 'Into the world you sent her, mother, / [...] And drove her away from home'; 'If I leave you, you will not be silent / But cry my name in the cities'.[73] The sea in these poems becomes emblematic for a liminal space between the metropolitan centre of imperialism and the colonial periphery; an in-between space in which the oscillation between likeness and strangeness, home and exile, the familiar and foreign is perpetual and irreconcilable. Like Wyspiański, Mansfield registers in these poems the 'hateful servility' of a younger generation taught by imperial discourse 'that they must not speak of love for their home'. Similarly, these poems about 'memory' and distance from 'home' echo the same 'melancholy appeal' heard in Selver's translations. In December 1912, moreover, poems published under Mansfield's

[72] (77) *Writings*, pp. 84-5.
[73] (49 and 72) *Writings*, pp. 79; 82.

name were linked to the 'new spiritually-inflected Russian aesthetics' promoted in *Rhythm* when they were printed directly alongside two lithographs by Goncharova based upon the religious polyptych that she had produced the previous year, titled 'Picking Grapes'. Like the Russian 'neo-primitive' artists, Mansfield displays a fascination in these poems for rural traditions and pre-modern superstitions, focusing on the natural environment of 'plains and forests' as well as a 'fairy' seen in the delicacy of 'snowflakes', 'thistledown', and 'a mote in a sunbeam'.[74] If we can see 'Katherine Mansfield' behind the mask of 'Boris Petrovsky', therefore, the tropes of an Eastern European and Russian aesthetic also clearly shaped the poems published in *Rhythm* under Mansfield's own name. This identification with the 'minor literatures' and dissident political and artistic movements of cultural nationalism in Eastern Europe and Russia, therefore, articulated Mansfield's political commitment as a New Zealander living in London: emphasising the liminal and ambivalent, her *Rhythm* poems served to disrupt the received idea of imperial power as integrated and hegemonic.

The pseudonym of 'Boris Petrovsky' enabled Mansfield to experiment with writing in a different national register and to forge a position for herself within the international avant-garde promoted by *Rhythm*. The poems written under this pseudonym are of debatable artistic merit, yet they must be understood within the original publication context in which they were produced, as imitative translations positioned within a network of exchange between *Rhythm* and *The New Age*.[75] Parodying Selver's translations, Mansfield aligned her writing in *Rhythm* with the 'minor literatures' and dissident political movements of cultural nationalism in Eastern Europe and Russia. Understood as examples of 'parodic translation', the Petrovsky

[74] (71 and 72) *Writings*, p. 82.
[75] For the highly critical response of Orage and Hastings to the Petrovsky poems, see: [Orage], 'Present-Day Criticism' in *New Age*, 10.22 (March 28, 1912), p. 519; [Hastings], 'THE MODEL BOYS-WILL-BE-BOYS PSEUDO-INTELLECTUAL MAGAZINE' in *New Age*, 10.23 (April 4, 1912), p. 548; [Orage], 'Present-Day Criticism' in *New Age*, 10.25 (April 18, 1912), p. 589. For further analysis of the rivalry and intertextual exchanges between *The New Age* and *Rhythm*, see Faith Binckes, 'Lines of Engagement: *Rhythm*, Reproduction, and the Textual Dialogues of Early Modernism' in *Little Magazines and Modernism: New Approaches*, ed. by Suzanne W. Churchill and Adam McKible (Aldershote: Ashgate, 2007), 21-34.

poems foreground the appropriative and refractory nature of all writing; moreover, the pseudonym becomes a strategy for the perpetuation of non-identity, displacing notions of originality and autonomy and thereby challenging narrative paradigms of 'major literature' and political paradigms of imperial hegemony. In this way, Mansfield's parodic translations encode an already-known postcolonial vision, anticipating the founding of the post-imperial nation state in Eastern Europe. Through these poems and her review of Selver's anthology, Mansfield also emphasised a concept of translation as a refractory process that transforms both the source and target cultures, whereby the aura of the translated text resides in non-equivalence and the oscillation between likeness and strangeness. In Bhabha's terms, Mansfield's 'parodic translations' highlight 'the performativity of translation as the staging of cultural difference' and emphasise 'the irresolution, or liminality, of "translation", the *element of resistance* in the process of transformation'.[76] This concept of translation, as necessarily liminal and resistant, clearly shaped Mansfield's other poetry contributions to *Rhythm*, poems that were motivated by her sense of a radical disjuncture between home and exile, or the familiar and foreign.

The New Zealand Stories

In the first of two editorial essays that Mansfield and Murry co-authored together, titled 'The Meaning of Rhythm', 'individuality' is defined as 'the triumphant *weapon* of aristocracy', attained through '*conquest*', and art is described as 'the splendid *adventure*, the eternal *quest* for rhythm' (my emphasis).[77] This section of the chapter examines how this rhetoric of metaphorical violence and spatial conquest structured articulations of 'community' within

[76] Bhabha, pp. 325; 321.
[77] (50) *Writings*, pp. 727-31.

Rhythm. Invariably, for instance, the idea of the 'quest' served as a synonym for and corollary to the idea of 'rhythm' in the magazine. As the newly appointed 'Editorial Assistant' to Murry, Mansfield's integration into the 'imagined community' of *Rhythm* arguably depended upon her deploying this rhetoric in the co-authored essays published in June and July 1912. Throughout her short story contributions, however, Mansfield challenged the idea of the modernist 'pioneer' who conquers new aesthetic terrain: these stories unsettle the hierarchical relation between metropolitan centre and colonial periphery, disrupting the discourse of 'barbarism' and 'primitivism' upon which *Rhythm* had been founded.

This discourse is highlighted in the opening essay to the first issue of *Rhythm*, which looked to identify the new artistic 'community' that the magazine would bring together. Frederick Goodyear's 'The New Thelema' begins with the observation that 'men have always been homesick for an ideal community':

> The golden age was relegated to the remote past; the isles of the blest were set among the unexplored ocean-stream that circled the confines of the habitable globe; the former was thrust out beyond the verge of human time, the latter beyond the verge of human space.[78]

The title of Goodyear's essay is derived from Rabelais's Abbey of Thélème. In Thélème, the one edict to be observed is 'Do what thou wilt'.[79] As such, Goodyear writes that 'Thelema […] will be essentially a place of liberty'.[80] In contrast to the 'illusory hope' of a future 'Heaven and the Elysian Fields', he asserts that the new Thelema of liberty and freedom can exist on Earth, 'not the never-never land of the theologian, but the ordinary human future that

[78] Frederick Goodyear, 'The New Thelema' in *Rhythm*, 1 (Summer 1911), p. 1.
[79] Smith, *Katherine Mansfield*, p. 82.
[80] Ibid. 2.

is perpetually transmuting itself into the past'.[81] This notion of temporal regression or simultaneity was extrapolated from Bergson's philosophy of the *élan vital*.

Asserting the role of the spirit in an era dominated by materialism, Bergson offered a radical alternative to contemporary mechanistic science. In particular, Bergson's theory of 'creative evolution' was an attempt to reconcile the material, scientific facts of Darwinian evolution, which he broadly accepted, with his own theories about the 'spirit' and 'life': he postulated the existence of the *élan vital*, a central 'life force' or 'vital impetus' that exists at the heart of things and that directs the flow of all life and all time, the flow of past and present into future. Mark Antliff has described the *élan vital* as a 'pantheistic life force latent within artistic creativity'.[82] Suggesting that the aesthetic experience could startle people out of their daily lives and prompt them to look at the world differently, Bergson's philosophy unsurprisingly had a large following within the arts. In *Rhythm*, for instance, Sadler echoed Bergson's anti-materialist philosophy of 'intuition' when he observed: 'An art intent on expressing the *inner* soul of persons and things will inevitably stray from the *outer* conventions of form and colour; that is to say, it will be definitely unnaturalistic, anti-materialist'.[83] Similarly, in a catalogue preface to a 1908 exhibition featuring the work of Matisse, Derain and Vlaminck, Apollinaire echoed the ideas of 'inner soul' and 'spirit' used in Bergson's *L'Évolution Créatrice*, published the previous year, to declare that the spectator should become 'aware of his own divinity' when looking at the new art: 'To do that, one must take in at a single glance the past, the present, and the future'.[84] As Richard Lehan has observed, this Bergsonian idea that aesthetic perception involved a spiritual immersion in the past, present, and future implied that there existed a 'creative power' and 'deep subjectivity

[81] Ibid. 1.
[82] Mark Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 82.
[83] Michael T. H. Sadler, 'After Gauguin' in *Rhythm*, 4 (Spring 1912), p. 24.
[84] Quoted in Charles Harrison, Francis Frascina, Gill Perry (eds.), *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century* (London: The Open University Press, 1994), p. 139.

within which the mythic, *the primitive*, and the intuitive could thrive' (my emphasis).[85] Just as the internal world of 'intuition' exists beneath the external world of 'intellect' in Bergson's schema, his theory of 'creative evolution' and temporal simultaneity suggested that the 'primitive' and the world of 'pre-history' could exist alongside or within the 'civilised' and the world of 'modernity'. In *Rhythm*, this idea is reflected in Murry's definition of 'modernism' as the artistic expression of the 'primitive harmonies of the world'. In the second issue of the magazine, moreover, Myers echoed Murry's notion of 'pure form' in the essay 'Art and Philosophy' when he described the music of Debussy as a liberation of 'pure sound' which represents a 'return to primitive conditions'.[86] In *Rhythm*, therefore, Bergson's philosophy provided the vocabulary by which contributors looked to postulate the 'primitive' as a source for creative renewal.

This notion of a primal 'return' shaped ideas of a collective artistic project in *Rhythm*. Sadler, for instance, writes that the techniques and styles of 'primitive and savage art' have opened the possibility for a 'renaissance' of 'similar ideals today with, consequently, similar expression'; in particular, he celebrates the work of Kandinsky and Derain, whom he designates as 'neo-primitives'.[87] This idea of the 'neo-primitives' had wide currency in 1911.[88] In Munich, for example, Kandinsky and Franz Marc had founded the magazine *Der Blaue Reiter* to express their 'sympathy' and 'spiritual relationship with the Primitives'.[89] And in London, artists such as Augustus John, Christopher Nevinson, Mark Gertler, and Stanley Spencer were finding inspiration in the work of the Italian 'primitives' of the early to

[85] Richard Lehan, 'Bergson and the Discourse of the Moderns' in *Crisis of Modernism*, ed. by Frederick Burwick and Paul Douglass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 307-8.
[86] Myers, p. 33. Such ideas prefigured the notion of 'significant form' later advanced by Clive Bell.
[87] Sadler, 'After Gauguin', p. 23.
[88] As examined in the previous section of the chapter, Mansfield clearly identified with the Russian 'neo-primitives' who published in both *Rhythm* and *Der Blaue Reiter*, such as Goncharova and Larionov. This section of the chapter suggests that this identification was complicated by Mansfield's short story contributions.
[89] Wassily Kandinsky, *The Art of Spiritual History*, trans. by Michael T. H. Sadler (London: Constable, 1914), p. 6.

mid Renaissance, such as Giotto, Piero della Francesca, and Botticelli.[90] As such, the idea of the 'neo-primitive' was employed at this time to express the notion of a second Renaissance, a second artistic 'rebirth' or 'revival'. In *Rhythm*, for instance, Holbrook Jackson observed:

> The artist is an instrument adopted by nature to recall man to the use of his perceptions; he is the scattered forces of insight, imagination, vision, of a whole human group, concentrated in one point of light. That is why all really great art revivals impress by their *naiveté*. They are actually primitive, because evolution needs the forces of young and uncouth vigour for her purpose. In order to grow we must continually throw back to what is primal.[91]

Using the Bergsonian language of evolutionary vitalism, Jackson continues: 'the modernist movement with all its new vitality has recaptured for its purpose the vision and spirit, and something of the design, of remote ages'.[92] Within the pages of *Rhythm*, therefore, the term 'primitive' was used to designate the otherness of a 'remote' and 'primal' past at the same time as it referred to the 'vitality' and 'uncouth vigour' of the magazine's contributors, gesturing towards the imagined 'community' of a new 'modernist movement'.

If the 'primitive' in *Rhythm* was based upon this temporal duality, then the term also suggested spatial expansion from the centre to 'remote' periphery. In 'The New Thelema', for instance, echoing the dichotomy in Bergson's philosophy between 'intuition' and 'intellect', Goodyear champions the 'internal' mode of liberty as opposed to the 'external', which he denigrates as 'the business of the politician' and the 'design' of the architect; in contrast, the 'true creators' are those who develop internal, 'spiritual freedom': 'They are artists and philosophers'.[93] Like Sadler's 'neo-primitives', the 'true creators' are outcasts and 'neo-barbarians': they are 'pioneers' who 'go out into the backwoods' and are 'roughened by

[90] David Boyd Haycock, *A Crisis of Brilliance: Five Young British Artists and the Great War* (London: Old Street Publishing, 2009), p. 91.
[91] Holbrook Jackson, 'A Plea for Revolt in Attitude' in *Rhythm*, 3 (Winter 1911), p. 9.
[92] Ibid. 10.
[93] Goodyear, pp. 1-2.

their contact with the wild'; where others stay 'at home', they enlarge 'existing boundaries', 'conquering new realms abroad'.[94] Evoking a return to the primordial clay or 'mud', Goodyear describes the 'call of the wild, greensickness, *nostalgie de la boue*' as 'a true impulse towards conscious freedom' and asserts that 'it is the neo-barbarians, men and women who to the timid and unimaginative seem merely perverse and atavistic, that must familiarize us with our outcast selves'.[95] Just as Bergson's philosophy suggests that nothing is 'beyond the verge of human time', this idea of the 'neo-barbarians', thrusting ever outwards from an imagined centre to the wild peripheries, figures the utopian belief that nothing is now 'beyond the verge of human space' either.

This idea of the 'neo-barbarians' was clearly constituted in opposition to an imagined notion of the 'barbaric'. For example, Goodyear describes how the new Thelema will be built upon an 'intuitive consensus of developed wills' opposed to the 'mind of barbaric man [which] is just a wilderness of nature, a jungle of competing tyrannies': 'Part of the jungle is cut down and cleared and in its place there rises an ordered community'.[96] This opposition between the 'developed', 'ordered' community of the 'neo-barbarians' and the 'wilderness' of 'barbaric man' structures Goodyear's essay according to the spatial-temporal logic outlined by Johannes Fabian in his seminal study *Time and the Other*. Fabian argues that disciplines such as ethnography and anthropology provided intellectual justification for the colonial project by placing 'not only past cultures, but all living societies […] on a temporal slope [of evolution], a stream of Time – some upstream, others downstream'.[97] Echoing this colonial discourse, the 'barbaric' becomes the projected 'other' against which Goodyear can

[94] Ibid. 3.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid. 2-3.
[97] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 17.

position *Rhythm*'s avant-garde community of 'neo-barbarians': it is the past to their progressive modernity, the wilderness to their order.

This language of geographical expansion and spatial conquest was part of a shared discourse across *Rhythm*. In an article on the Fantaisiste poets, for example, Francis Carco observed: 'Ils ont à leur tour une singulière délicatesse d'accent, de l'ironie, de la vigeur, du naturel, du movement, de la ferveur [...] Qu'il suffise de montrer chez eux un retour à la vie "vivante"' ('They have in their turn a singular delicacy of accent, irony, vigour, naturalness, movement, enthusiasm [...] That is enough to show amongst them a return to the "living" life').[98] In the first issue of the magazine, Murry also employed this rhetoric of 'vigour' and 'movement' when he wrote that the artist's 'individuality consists in consciously thrusting from the vantage ground that he inherits' and that art is 'movement, ferocity, tearing at what lies before. It takes nothing for granted; and thrusts mercilessly, pitilessly'.[99] Murry here builds upon Goodyear's description of the 'pioneer' who becomes 'roughened by their contact with the wild' in order to envisage the artist as a conqueror of virgin jungle territory and as a figure of muscular vitality and 'masculinist dynamism'.[100]

Such metaphors clearly evoke the rhetoric of colonialism. In the gendered language of the colonial travel narrative, for instance, the native landscape is invariably portrayed as a feminised 'virgin land' subjected to the patriarchal control of the West. In this shared discourse of metaphorical violence, therefore, culture is an implicitly masculine domain and nature is gendered as female, a dichotomy which, as Antliff has observed, also structured the visual imagery of *Rhythm*'s cover (Figure 18): by removing the woman on the cover from any social context and instead placing her in an abstract, mythological setting, Fergusson

[98] Francis Carco, 'Lettre de Paris' in *Rhythm*, 6 (July 1912), p. 66.
[99] Murry, 'Art and Philosophy', p. 10.
[100] Smith, 'Katherine Mansfield and *Rhythm*' in *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 21 (2003), p. 104.

made the body of this Eve figure representative of both 'primeval woman' and 'natural fecundity', an association which 'divides the creative process along gender lines'.[101]

The gendered aspects to this discourse of geographical expansion are also illuminated by Fergusson's first draft drawing for the cover of the magazine, which he initially conceptualised under the title *The Quest* (Figure 17). This drawing not only highlights the synonymous link between the 'quest' and 'rhythm' in the magazine, but also between the quest and the gaze. In the imperial paradigm, as Iris Marion Young explains, 'the knowing subject is a gazer, an observer who stands above, outside of, the object of knowledge'.[102] This idea is highlighted in the images published in *The Illustrated London News* (Figure 2). As Collier has argued, such images replicated the commanding, all-seeing gaze of imperialism, placing 'the individual colonial officer (and, by proxy, the newspaper reader) in the position of ocular/epistemological power'.[103] In the imperial paradigm, moreover, the gaze is clearly gendered. Catherine Nash, for example, suggests that imperialism presents a single, stable perspective on both the 'mapping of subject lands' and the 'representation of women'.[104] As Gillian Rose also notes, 'as the eye traverses both field and flesh', the colonial gaze sees both land and the female body as 'something to own, and something to give pleasure'.[105] As suggested by Ferguson's draft drawing for the magazine's cover, the quest narrative in *Rhythm* was linked to the roving gaze of the 'thrusting' and 'merciless' pioneer and was clearly influenced by the visual ideology of imperialism, connecting gender and geography.

[101] Antliff, p. 85.
[102] Iris Marion Young, 'The Scaling of Bodies and the Politics of Identity' in *Space, Gender, Knowledge: Feminist Readings*, ed. by Linda McDowell and Joanne Sharp (London: Arnold, 1997), p. 221.
[103] Collier, 'Imperial/Modernist Forms in the *Illustrated London News*', p. 499.
[104] Catherine Nash, 'Remapping the Body/Land: Cartographies of Identity, Gender, and Landscape in Ireland' in *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, ed. by Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose (New York: The Guildford Press, 1994), p. 234.
[105] Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1993), pp. 97-9.

Far from being an egalitarian 'republic of art', therefore, *Rhythm*'s new Thelema would be built upon distinct hierarchies: between the past and modernity, nature and culture, primeval woman and civilised man, periphery and centre, disorder and order, the 'unexplored' and 'habitable', the 'barbaric' and 'neo-barbarians'. Contributors to *Rhythm* consistently responded to these structural dynamics. The repeated focus in the magazine on the 'joyous splendour of orientalism' witnessed in the productions of the Ballets Russes, for example, created a visible contrast in *Rhythm* between Orient and Occident, East and West: between the regressive past at the margins of modernity and the localised 'stage' of a progressive metropolitan avant-garde.[106] This dichotomy was reiterated in essay contributions to the magazine, as when Murry writes that the 'future lies in a West that is conscious of the East' and Laurence Binyon argues that the 'simplicity' of 'Oriental art' has released the world from the 'nightmare of a mechanical universe'.[107] In each case, the 'East' (the past) is a resource that serves to reinvigorate Western metropolitan art (the future).

This metropolitan focus is repeated throughout *Rhythm*, a magazine that framed its connections with the metropolitan centre of Paris as 'an effect of its modernity'.[108] In particular, the magazine regularly published work by the Paris-based Fantaisiste writers in the original French. The majority of these contributions focus on the allure of promiscuous women and prostitutes for the male café-dwelling *flâneur*. Carco's story 'Aprés Minuit' is typical in this regard, depicting drunks, pimps, and women forced into prostitution by poverty, something that is not condemned but becomes the focus of desire for the male

[106] Rice, 'Les Ballets Russes' in *Rhythm*, 7 (August 1912), p. 108.
[107] Murry, 'Art and Philosophy', p. 11; Laurence Binyon, 'The Return to Poetry' in *Rhythm*, 4 (Spring 1912), p. 2.
[108] Binckes, *Modernism, Magazines, and the Avant-Garde*, p. 79.

protagonist.[109] Also representative of the Fantaisiste aesthetic is a prose poem by Claudien, which describes an imagined 'world' of male sexual fantasy and '*sadisme*':

> Un monde imaginaire et mal défini se constitue ainsi autour de lui, monde dont il est le centre et dont la racine est cet instinct trouble et mauvais qu'il porte en son âme, approuvé en silence par le feu obscur et fétide, son seul compagnon.[110]
>
> (An imaginary and ill-defined world is around him, the world of which he is the centre and whose root is the troubled and bad instinct which he carries in his soul, silently approved by the dark and fetid fire, his only companion.)

Examples such as this highlight how *Rhythm* provided imaginary mobility throughout the 'world' for the implicitly male author/reader, enabling fantasies of sexual and geographical domination from the 'centre'. This is consistently reflected in visual contributions to the magazine, particularly in Margaret Thompson's many drawings of exotic landscapes and the recurring focus in illustrations on the female nude.

The cover image of the magazine, for example, is representative of a wider trend within Fergusson's aesthetic development, in which the female nude became a central motif. In the majority of these paintings, such as *Torse de femme* (1911), the woman's eyes are placed in shadow through a downward gaze, which draws attention to her body and serves to emphasise physicality above any sense of psychological interiority. Furthermore, as Antliff has observed, Fergusson's often voyeuristic focus on café women 'not concerned about respectability' (echoing the work of the Fantaisiste poets) was a 'protest against bourgeois male-female relationships' that only resulted 'in the fabrication of a stereotyped Other. The [lower class] café women and the Fauve palette in which they are depicted are signs for a

[109] Carco, 'Aprés Minuit' in *Rhythm*, 3 (Winter 1911), pp. 25-7.
[110] Claudien, 'Une Vie' in *Rhythm*, 4 (Spring 1912), p. 33.

bourgeois escape from the conventional into the realm of the "natural"'.[111] This voyeuristic focus on a 'stereotyped Other' is reiterated in Ferguson's illustrative contributions to *Rhythm*, some of which depict café women surreptitiously viewed from behind or from the side.

In contrast, depictions of the female body by Anne Estelle Rice have been celebrated by critics such as Binckes for their empowered feminine sexuality, for their 'frank appraising stares and their divergence from conventional standards of feminine beauty'.[112] Yet Rice's contributions to *Rhythm* often conflate 'woman' with 'natural fecundity' (Figure 19) or the female body with racial otherness (Figures 20 and 21). The women in Rice's drawings often have closed or half-closed eyes, suggesting an eclipsed gaze. Furthermore, the way in which these illustrations were framed within the publication contexts of *Rhythm* served to reinforce the association between the female nude and a male-bourgeois escape into the 'natural' and 'primitive'. For instance, a drawing by Rice in the second issue of the magazine not only equates 'woman' with 'nature' by making the female body part of a geometric background of exotic palms and flowers (Figure 22), but the poem on the preceding page frames this representation within the context of 'Ammon in the tents of Thebes', 'the Nile', 'the desert's dust' and 'Delphi's mount', a Biblical geography that reveals to the narrator the Western colonial 'right' to '[f]ame, fear, and worship, and the power to smite'.[113] Similarly, in the third issue of the magazine, a drawing by Rice (Figure 23) accompanies a poem by W. L. George titled 'The Negress' which employs worn and tired orientalist motifs of racial and sexual otherness, describing the 'shade of palmtree' and the 'jungle airs'.[114] George writes, for instance: 'Oh, maid with breasts as black as ebony, / Say, are for me the languors of your eyes?'[115] Placed on adjacent pages, we are encouraged to read Rice's drawing in conjunction

[111] Antliff, pp. 73-6.
[112] Binckes, *Modernism, Magazines, and the Avant-Garde*, p. 159.
[113] Julian Park, 'Priestcraft' in *Rhythm*, 2 (Autumn 1911), p. 21.
[114] W. L. George, 'The Negress' in *Rhythm*, 3 (Winter 1911), p. 5.
[115] Ibid.

with this appallingly poor poem, so that the flowers in the former become the jungle setting of the latter, the direct gaze of the sitter in the illustration becomes languorous and submissive, and the racial identity that is elided by the two-tone publication of Rice's drawing becomes explicit and objectified, a 'Negress' with breasts 'smooth and black as ebony'. In George's poem, the female body is an empty signifier for otherness, comparable to the 'jungle' landscape brought under the control of the male artist-pioneer in Goodyear's essay. Placed in such a publication context, this image of an empowered feminine sexuality becomes the mere repository for male colonial fantasy.

Smith suggests that the conflation of gender signifiers in Fergusson's cover image, of 'aggressively jutting breasts' and a pose which 'is muscular and commanding rather than yielding and passive', encourages us to view the magazine itself as a space of gender equality and 'freedom from gendered constraints'.[116] Indeed, contemporary exhibitions such as the Salon d'Automne offer parallels as 'highly inclusive' spaces that 'welcomed women artists' and were 'emphatically internationalist'.[117] Within *Rhythm*'s pages, for instance, female artists such as Rice, Dismorr, Dorothy 'Georges' Banks, Thompson, and Goncharova all found an open space for publication. Yet to suggest that *Rhythm* was some sort of egalitarian 'republic' free from gendered constraints is to wilfully ignore the way in which the magazine perpetuated cultural hierarchies of difference and otherness, whereby nature and the 'primitive' were gendered as female and modern cultural production became implicitly masculine by contrast. Furthermore, such a reading ignores the way in which visual representations of women, including by female artists such as Rice, responded to the nexus of racial and sexual otherness integral to orientalism and Western conceptions of the primitive. The female body in the magazine becomes the site for a male-bourgeois escape from the

[116] Smith, *Katherine Mansfield*, pp. 78-80; Smith, '"As fastidious as though I wrote with acid": Katherine Mansfield, J. D. Fergusson and the *Rhythm* Group in Paris' in *Katherine Mansfield Studies*, 3 (2011), p. 15.
[117] Carol A. Nathanson, *The Expressive Fauvism of Anne Estelle Rice* (New York: Hollis Taggert Galleries, 1997), p. 9.

conventional into the natural, from moribund Western civilisation into the pre-history of foreign cultures. Moreover, it is significant that Mansfield is the only woman to have had a written contribution published during the entire run of both *Rhythm* and its successor *The Blue Review*, other than occasional articles on the theatre by Rice and Banks. This is a stark inequality that critics have been too ready to overlook in discussions of the magazine.

Mansfield's short story contributions to *Rhythm* critique and unsettle the dichotomous dynamics structuring the magazine's pervading discourse of geographical expansion and spatial conquest. In particular, her first story contribution departs from the visual ideology that permeates the magazine, challenging the idea of a stable masculine gaze of both gender and geography. 'The Woman at the Store' depicts an unnamed narrator travelling across the interior of New Zealand with two companions. The story opens with the 'uncanny' silence generated by one of the men, Jo, failing to sing a song he has been singing almost continuously for the last month and the narrator 'half [falling] asleep' in 'a sort of uneasy dream'.[118] Framing the narrative in this way, Mansfield alerts the reader to the significance of inarticulacy and psychological repression, and the story derives impetus from what is elided and left unseen. The three companions stop at a 'whare' which Jo describes as owned by a man '"who'll give yer a bottle of whisky before 'e shakes hands with yer"' and his wife, the woman of the title, '"with blue eyes and yellow hair, who'll promise you something else before she shakes hands with you"'.[119] On arriving at the store, however, the travelling companions discover that the husband is away shearing, that the woman has been driven to near-hysteria by loneliness, and that her body has been made 'ugly' by repeated childbirth and the hardships of domestic life in an unforgiving environment:

[118] (45) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 268.
[119] Ibid. 269.

> "It's six years since I was married, and four miscarriages. I says to 'im, I says, what do you think I'm doin' up 'ere? If you was back at the coast, I'd 'ave you lynched for child murder. Over and over I tells 'im – you've broken my spirit and spoiled my looks, and wot for […] sometimes I'll be cooking the spuds an' I lifts the lid off to give em a prong and I 'ears, quite suddin again, 'Wot for.'"[120]

Once '"as pretty as a wax doll"' who '"knew one hundred and twenty-five different ways of kissing"', the sexual 'promise' of the woman is now gone: this contrast between expectation and reality leads the narrator to exclaim, '"Oh, go on, Hin! She isn't the same woman!"'.[121] The woman is an uncanny double of herself, a grotesque distortion with 'her front teeth knocked out' and her body reduced to looking like 'there was nothing but sticks and wires under that pinafore', with the narrator thinking '"*mad*, of course she's mad!"'.[122] When Jo and the woman manoeuver events so that they can spend the night together, the narrator and Hin are left to look after the woman's child, a 'mean, undersized brat, with whitish hair, and weak eyes' and a 'protruding' stomach; this child creates 'extraordinary and repulsively vulgar' pictures that are described as the 'creations of a lunatic with a lunatic's cleverness'.[123] Like the song left unsung, these drawings are made 'uncanny' by being withheld, becoming the focus of a repressed act of violence: at the climax of the story, saying '"I done the one she told me she'd shoot me if I did"', the child shows the narrator a picture revealing that the woman has murdered her husband with a 'rook rifle'.[124]

Critics have long recognised that 'The Woman at the Store', in the words of Mark Williams, is 'governed by a deliberately literary intelligence' in its debt to the horse and

[120] Ibid. 270; 273-4.
[121] Ibid. 272.
[122] Ibid. 270-1.
[123] Ibid. 272; 274.
[124] Ibid. 276.

saddle genre popularised by Australian and New Zealand writers in *The Bulletin*.[125] In particular, Mansfield's story clearly resembles Henry Lawson's story 'The Drover's Wife'. Such stories looked to depict the terror and isolation of outback life for women. 'The Woman at the Store' self-consciously exaggerates the gothic tropes of this genre; as such, the story can be categorised as 'parody'.[126] As Lydia Wevers has observed, for example, the story 'invokes colonial melodrama and then subverts its narrative model': it presents the 'object of desire' typical of romance fiction 'as a form of dressing concealing something undesirable; the puppet-like sticks and wires of a woman shooting at a man with a rook rifle'.[127] What has not been examined in any detail, however, is the way in which this parody of a colonial literary genre was a conscious attempt by Mansfield to simultaneously critique the expectations of her London-based metropolitan readership in *Rhythm*.[128] Examining this aspect to the story, we can see how Mansfield looked to position her writing between different literary traditions: borrowing a form popularised in the former in order to critique a magazine published in the latter, she positioned her short story contributions to *Rhythm* in the ambivalent, liminal space between colonial periphery and metropolitan centre.

In contrast to *Rhythm*'s celebration of the 'pioneers' who 'go out into the backwoods' and are 'roughened by their contact with the wild', for instance, 'The Woman at the Store' depicts the '*taint* of the pioneer': violence, sexual abuse, domestic hardship, isolation, and madness. As such, the story figures a Freudian return of the repressed, as highlighted in the name given to the 'lunatic' child, 'Els'.[129] Living at the frontier, the woman and her child figure something *else*, something 'other'. The line drawings that this 'lunatic' child creates

[125] Mark Williams, 'Mansfield in Maoriland: Biculturalism, Agency and Misreading' in *Modernism and Empire*, ed. by Howard Booth and Nigel Rigby (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 258.
[126] Mansfield's story 'Millie' (published in *The Blue Review* in June 1913) also parodies the tropes of this genre.
[127] Lydia Wevers, 'The Short Story' in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature*, ed. by Terry Sturm (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 217-18.
[128] After writing this chapter, I have become aware of a similar argument in an article by Carey Snyder, 'Katherine Mansfield, *Rhythm*, and Metropolitan Primitivism' in *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, 5.2 (2014), 139-60.
[129] (45) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 271.

satirise the contemporary idealisation of children's art: in *Der Blaue Reiter*, for instance, children's drawings, produced from the 'moral and spiritual atmosphere' of 'inner tendency', were celebrated as 'primitive' art revealing 'internal truths'.[130] The child's drawings in 'The Woman at the Store' subvert these expectations of moral and spiritual harmony, instead revealing a violent and brutalising 'truth'. The woman and her child therefore figure a repressed 'otherness' behind the discourse of modernist primitivism. This 'other' is also personified in the spectral, haunting presence that stalks the New Zealand landscape:

> There is no twilight to our New Zealand days, but a curious half-hour when everything appears grotesque – it frightens – as though the savage spirit of the country walked abroad and sneered at what it saw.[131]

In this story, the 'savage' and barbaric 'other' is not something that can be tamed or conquered; rather, it threatens to walk 'abroad' and 'sneer' at what it finds. In other words, Mansfield's story reverses the direction of travel taken by Goodyear's 'pioneers': by publishing in *Rhythm*, she brings the peripheries to the centre, confronting her metropolitan readership with the primal and savage 'other' against which the magazine's discourse of modernist primitivism and 'neo-barbarian' communal affiliation has been constituted.

In particular, 'The Woman at the Store' subverts the gendered aspects of *Rhythm*'s discourse of geographical expansion. Whilst the narrator of 'The Woman at the Store' is gendered female in later reissues of the story, in the original *Rhythm* publication the narrator's gender is not stated definitively.[132] In this way, Mansfield disrupts expectations of a settled, commanding, and clearly gendered colonial gaze. As Pamela Dunbar has argued, this intentional ambiguity is indicative of the way in which Mansfield sought to disrupt and

[130] Kandinsky, *The Art of Spiritual Harmony*, p. 6.
[131] (45) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 271.
[132] Similarly, 'Jo' and 'Hin' become (the clearly male) 'Joe' and 'Jim' in later republications of the story by Murry.

deconstruct established ideas about gender in the story.[133] In particular, Mansfield frustrates the metropolitan fascination with viewing the body of the exotic colonial 'other'. Instead, she presents her reader with the vacuous and undesirable body of the female white settler; as such, Mansfield inverts the idealised notion of the voluptuous and racially-other female body found throughout illustrative contributions to the magazine. Furthermore, the story unsettles the link between 'natural fecundity' and the female body in *Rhythm*. Instead, Mansfield's story associates the woman at the store with the barren landscape of a 'white pumice dust' that is 'like a dry-skin itching for growth on our bodies'.[134] Surveying the land, the narrator does not view a fertile or fecund landscape, a resource to own and give pleasure, but an arid and desolate 'dust' that prefigures his/her encounter with the woman, whose body is 'nothing but sticks and wires'. As such, Mansfield's story dismantles the metropolitan idealisation of the colonial frontier as a place of abundance, a 'virgin territory' to be penetrated.

This opposition to the magazine's foundational discourse is highlighted by the illustrations published alongside and in juxtaposition to the story. Appearing underneath Thompson's illustrative header of an Asiatic caravan, for instance, 'The Woman at the Store' is framed by the visual tropes of modernist primitivism; whilst Mansfield's opening description of the 'tussock grass […] patched with purple orchids and manuka bushes' clearly locates the narrative in the Antipodes, this geographical specificity is subsumed within the generalised exoticism of water buffalo and veiled women (Figure 24).[135] Inserted into Mansfield's text, likewise, is a reproduction of a painting by Henri Manguin of a cottage nestled among a verdant spring landscape of hills, bushes, and trees in bloom (Figure 25). This image faces the narrator's description of their first view of the 'whare': 'We were on the

[133] Pamela Dunbar, *Radical Mansfield: Double Discourse in Katherine Mansfield's Short Stories* (London: Macmillan, 1997), p. 45.
[134] (45) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 268.
[135] Ibid.

brow of the hill, and below us there was a whare roofed in with corrugated iron'.[136] As such, both Manguin's painting and Mansfield's prose place the reader of *Rhythm* in the position of 'the knowing subject [who] is a gazer' and therefore replicate or reaffirm the visual ideology of imperialism. Unlike the viewer of Manguin's painting, however, the narrator of 'The Woman at the Store' looks upon a poverty-stricken dwelling set within an unforgiving, barren landscape. As such, Mansfield's story unsettles the masculine colonial gaze, challenging the metropolitan idealisation of the peripheries of global space as places of fertility and fecundity.

Similarly, Mansfield's depiction of the woman at the store contrasts with a nude study by Lionel Halpert that is inserted into the text of the story (Figure 26). In *Rhythm*, the female nude signifies both an ideal form of artistic education, as well as the objectified 'other' against which male cultural production is constituted. In the story, Jo and Hin perceive the woman at the store as this 'other': she is first the idealised 'wax doll' and is then reduced to simply '"female flesh"' that Jo quickly sets about possessing.[137] Not only has the woman suffered four miscarriages, however, but her surviving child is born weak and malnourished, with the woman telling the men of the '"trouble"' she had after birth: '"I 'adn't any milk till a month after she was born and she sickened like a cow"'.[138] Whilst Halpert's corresponding artwork continues to reinforce the idea of 'woman' as a sexualised, objectified 'other', therefore, the woman of the story is nothing like the imaginary ideal that the men formulate as they travel towards the whare, her biological 'sickness' and 'trouble' complicating the idealised link between the reproductive power of the female body and 'natural fecundity'.

As already suggested, the notion of the 'thrusting' and 'merciless' pioneer advanced throughout *Rhythm* echoed the discourse of colonial settlement. In the nineteenth and early

[136] Ibid. 269.
[137] Ibid. 271.
[138] Ibid. 272.

twentieth centuries, colonial settlement was supported by a hyper-masculine version of nationalism, a narrative of the nation in which the lone pioneer is responsible for taming the natural landscape; this was a narrative from which women were excluded and confined to domestic space. Mansfield's story highlights how such notions of domestic femininity become increasingly untenable in the harsh landscape of the colonial outback. When the woman apologises for the state of the whare ('"I 'ven't 'ad time ter fix things to-day – been ironing"'), for example, the narrator thinks: '"Good Lord, what a life! […] Imagine bothering about ironing"'.[139] Similarly, by taking up a gun to ward off potential intruders and to enact revenge upon her husband, the woman at the store asserts her individual agency and disrupts codes of genteel femininity, unsettling the rigid gender binary structuring colonial settlement. This binary is reflected in the visual contributions to the fourth issue of *Rhythm*: in contrast to the idealised female form of Halpert's nude study, André Dunoyer de Segonzac's 'Les Boxeurs' pivots on notions of muscular vitality and masculinist dynamism (Figure 27). The repeated lines of the boxers' legs and arms convey the same notion of vigorous movement that underpins the discourse of geographical expansion and spatial conquest in essay contributions to *Rhythm*. Whereas the female body is passively 'natural' and 'primitive' in these essays, de Segonzac's image of masculine movement is described in *Rhythm* as 'a great primeval instinct satisfied'.[140] In other words, masculine agency enables 'primeval instinct' to be resolved, whereas notions of feminine passivity cast the female body as eternally 'primitive' and 'other'. Mansfield's story clearly disrupts this gender binary, challenging representations of the female body as passive and thereby unsettling the discourse of the 'thrusting' and 'merciless' pioneer of colonial settlement and modernist art.

Significantly, 'The Woman at the Store' also includes a reference to metropolitan periodical culture. The narrator describes how the walls of the woman's dwelling are

[139] Ibid. 270-1.
[140] Arthur Crossthwaite, 'A Railway Vision' in *Rhythm*, 3 (Winter 1911), p. 34.

'plastered with old pages of English periodicals' in which 'Queen Victoria's Jubilee appeared to be the most recent number'.[141] This supports Bill Ashcroft and John Salter's observation that imperial discourse assumes that colonial culture is simply a 'transported version of the British model'.[142] With this reference to metropolitan periodical culture and the British Empire, Mansfield appears to subscribe to the idea of the colonial periphery as a place of the pre-modern, out-dated, and underdeveloped: in comparison to the 'present' and 'progress' of the metropolitan centre, the periphery is seen as a place of stasis and regression. Mansfield thus emphasises a temporal, as well as spatial, disjunction between metropolitan centre and colonial periphery, maintaining an ironic distance between herself (publishing in a progressive 'modernist' metropolitan magazine) and her degenerate characters. By making the domestic space of the 'whare' a metonym for the publication space of the English periodical, however, she also suggests that the *physical spaces* of the story are a projection of the narrator's own imaginary mobility through *periodical space*. In this way, Mansfield forces her metropolitan readership to question how the optics of periodical culture reinforce not only the structural dynamics of colonialism but also the representational model constituting imagined ideas of 'savagery' and primal 'otherness'.

Just as 'The Woman at the Store' opens with the narrator riding towards the store in a kind of half-dream, it ends with the narrator waking up and riding away from the store, with the single line: 'A bend in the road, and the whole place disappeared'.[143] As such, the store comes to represent a liminal space, a psychological 'in-between' through which the narrator is only ever passing. This is a space in which settled identities (of the 'pioneer' and 'settler' or the colonial 'other') not only become unfixed but are inverted: the 'settler' at the frontier

[141] (45) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 270.
[142] Bill Ashcroft and John Salter, 'Modernism's Empire: Australia and the cultural imperialism of style' in *Modernism and Empire*, ed. by Howard Booth and Nigel Rigby (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 292.
[143] (45) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 276.

of empire is *also* the savage and primal 'other'. For example, as the companions ride towards the store, the woman runs towards them with a gun, thinking that they are native Māoris on the attack. Furthermore, the moment of revelation at the story's climax is also the moment at which the masculine colonial gaze of the quest narrative, dependent upon the stable perception of both women and land, becomes untenable. In the course of her narrative, therefore, Mansfield has renegotiated the power relations between centre and periphery upon which the magazine's discourse of artistic affiliation has been constituted; by the end of the story, these relations have not only been unsettled, but have also become unsustainable.

Mansfield's story 'Ole Underwood' also pushes *Rhythm*'s discourse of metaphorical violence to its logical extreme, depicting an ex-convict who has served time in prison for murdering his wife. We hear Ole Underwood's history in the narrative of a man looking towards him in a pub: '"When he was a young fellow, thirty years ago, a man 'ere done in 'is woman, and 'e foun' out an' killed 'er. Got twenty years in quod up on the 'ill. Came out cracked"'.[144] Mansfield's story depicts this 'cracked' psyche, conveyed through the repetition of single words that 'beat like a hammer', 'like some one beating on an iron in a prison, some one in a secret place – bang – bang – bang – trying to get free': 'Stop! Stop! Stop! Stop!'; 'Red – red – red – red!'; '"Kit! Kit! Kit!"'; '"I will! I will! I will!"'; 'Mine! Mine! Mine! beat the hammer'.[145] Ole Underwood struggles to contain these violent impulses towards self-assertion, described as the 'old, old lust', and moments of tenderness are fractured by his destructive energy.[146] When he finds a cat by the wharves on the seafront, for example, 'Ole Underwood sat up and took the kitten in his arms and rocked to and fro, crushing it against his face. It was warm and soft, and it mewed faintly. He buried his eyes in its fur'; yet he quickly destroys these feelings of tenderness: 'He tore the little cat out of his coat and swung

[144] (74) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 320.
[145] Ibid. 319-22.
[146] Ibid. 321.

it by its tail and flung it out to the sewer opening. The hammer beat loud and strong'.[147] Ole Underwood has previously been described as being 'like a cat', 'sneak[ing] to one side' in the pub.[148] The senseless violence towards the kitten at the seafront, therefore, is also an attempt to realise his own self-destruction. As such, Ole Underwood is caught between this overwhelming desire for self-annihilation and the 'old, old lust' towards self-assertion.

As Dunbar has observed, Ole Underwood is 'a parody of the pioneer – rootless, piratical, at odds with all he meets': with 'his outward swagger and inner insecurities, his violence and vengeful puritanism', Ole Underwood 'offers an unflattering portrait of the pioneer – one which makes no concession at all to the glamorous remittance-man of received white New Zealand history'.[149] As such, 'Ole Underwood' challenges the celebration of the neo-barbarian 'pioneers' found elsewhere in *Rhythm*. In particular, the story is clearly set in Wellington, depicting the wharves at the foot of the 'windy hills' and the 'white manuka flower' that flies on the wind.[150] Therefore, Mansfield draws on her actual experience of colonial life in New Zealand in order to dismantle the abstract, glorified image of the lone 'pioneer' across both imperial discourse and the pages of *Rhythm*.

Unlike 'The Woman at the Store' and 'Ole Underwood', 'How Pearl Button Was Kidnapped' is often interpreted as an idealisation of the exotic colonial 'other' that is congruent with modernist primitivism: as Kate Fullbrook argues, for instance, the 'salient features of this story belong to the romantic tradition that glorifies the "naturalness" and "freedom" of the savage over the inhibitions and pleasure-denying aspects of mechanical civilization'.[151] I want to suggest, however, that the story is also based upon a clear and

[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid. 320.
[149] Dunbar, pp. 49-50.
[150] (74) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 319.
[151] Quoted in Saikat Majumdar, *Prose of the World: Modernism and the Banality of Empire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), p. 95. See also Snyder, 'Katherine Mansfield, *Rhythm*, and Modernist Primitivism', pp. 146-50.

deliberate ambivalence that unsettles this binary between modern 'civilisation' and the noble 'savage'. Written in 1910, the story is told in the manner of fairy tale, and may well have been the 'satirical fairy tale' that Murry later recalled was Mansfield's first, rejected submission to *Rhythm*.[152] Indeed, 'How Pearl Button Was Kidnapped' has a hybrid genre that Murry might have understood as 'satirical' or parodic: it is both a fairy tale and an adventure story; it is both an escape into a new and magical 'other' world and also an escape from an impending threat. Whilst the story can be interpreted as reflective of modernist primitivism, therefore, this generic hybridity means that it can equally be viewed as a parody and critique of the contemporary idealisation of the exotic colonial 'other'.

'How Pearl Button Was Kidnapped' is told through the eyes of a very young girl who is taken from her family home by 'dark women' dressed 'in red [...] yellow and green'.[153] Racial identity is never specified in the story beyond this detail of the women's 'dark' skin: however, Pearl's name clearly associates her with whiteness, and the 'green ornament' that hangs around the neck of one of the 'dark women' alludes to the 'tiki' symbol worn by the Māori people.[154] The women take Pearl from the regimented world of the bourgeois Pākehā (Anglo) community, symbolised in 'the House of Boxes' in which Pearl's mother is in 'the kitching, ironing-because-its Tuesday'.[155] In the Māori community, by contrast, Pearl is allowed to get her pinafore dirty, to spill the juice of a peach down her dress, and to run to the sea where she unbuttons her clothes and paddles in the water. In the standard interpretation of this story as exemplary of modernist primitivism, Pearl's 'kidnap' by the Māori women is in fact her liberation. This accepted interpretation is apparently supported by the ending of the

[152] Murry, 'Coming to London', p. 100.
[153] (61) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 285.
[154] Ibid. 287.
[155] Ibid. 286.

story, when the police find Pearl and she gives a 'frightful scream' as the 'little blue men came running, running towards her with shouts and whistlings'.[156]

There is an alternative reading of this story, however. As Anna Snaith has observed, the name 'Pearl Button' and 'the repeated references to unbuttoning and undressing in the story' generate 'associations of sexual threat, even rape': as such, the women's kissing of Pearl assumes a distinctly threatening quality.[157] 'How Pearl Button Was Kidnapped' thus prefigures Mansfield's later story, 'Je ne parle pas français', in which 'a racially-other, excessively maternal, figure' sexually abuses the narrator in childhood.[158] In particular, when this story is read against Mansfield's Urewera notebooks, which repeatedly highlight an awareness of a suppressed history of violent settlement in New Zealand, Snaith argues, the body of the white child can be interpreted as Māori 'reparation for stolen land'.[159] As Janka Kascakova has also observed, when the women approach Pearl Button 'the text clearly indicates through their behavior that they are aware they are doing something wrong' ('The two women came up to her, keeping close to the hedge and looking in a frightened way towards the House of Boxes') and 'there can be no doubt that it is they, not the police officers, who do the wrong thing, no matter how the whole situation is (mis)understood by the child'.[160] As such, it is possible to interpret 'How Pearl Button Was Kidnapped' as an attempt by Mansfield to unsettle the unquestioning idealisation within modernist primitivism of the exotic, sexualised, and 'racially-other' female. Instead, the Māori women in this 'satirical fairy tale' figure a suppressed history of racial violence.

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[156] Ibid. 288.
[157] Anna Snaith, *Modernist Voyages: Colonial Women Writers in London, 1890-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 124.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid. 127-8.
[160] Janka Kascakova, 'Katherine Mansfield's "How Pearl Button Was Kidnapped"' in *Explicator*, 72.2 (2014), p. 120; (61) *Fictions*, vol. 1, p. 286.

This story, therefore, cannot be viewed simply as an unambiguous celebration of the 'naturalness' and 'freedom' of a vibrant 'other'. Rather, 'How Pearl Button Was Kidnapped' is founded upon an intentional ambiguity: the 'kidnapping' of the title can refer to both the Māori women and the police officers as either abductors or liberators. In this way, the story collapses distinctions between the two cultures, emphasising instead the relativity of different cultural perspectives. Read in this way, the story is both a critique of imperial discourse (which serves to denigrate and dominate the indigenous population) *and also* of modernist primitivism (which looks to celebrate the exotic indigene without interrogating the history of unjust and violent colonial settlement). As examined in this chapter, Mansfield was clearly aware of how the modernist celebration of the 'primitive' echoed and reaffirmed the discourse of colonial expansion and spatial conquest. As a dual critique of both these positions, 'How Pearl Button Was Kidnapped' forces the reader of *Rhythm* to interrogate how the discourse of metaphorical violence advanced throughout the magazine paralleled the real violence of historical colonial settlement.

In conclusion, Mansfield's short story contributions to *Rhythm* did not unambiguously conform to the editorial call for 'brutal' and 'primitive' art; rather, these stories deserve to be understood as deliberately subversive *interventions* within an established periodical discourse. Mansfield's stories reveal the extent to which the 'imagined community' of the magazine, supposedly embodying an egalitarian 'republic of art', was in fact founded upon distinct spatial hierarchies of race and gender between metropolitan centre and colonial periphery. In particular, these stories disrupt visual representations of women and land in *Rhythm*, challenging and subverting the masculine colonial gaze of the quest narrative. Parodying *Rhythm*'s discourse of metaphorical violence and unsettling the magazine's celebration of the lone 'pioneer', Mansfield highlights how aesthetic theories of vigorous movement and spatial conquest in the magazine aligned with the imperial discourse of

colonial settlement. As such, these short story contributions to *Rhythm*, emphasising a repressed violence behind the history of empire, counter the ideological assumptions of the magazine, encoding an already known postcolonial vision.

'Sunday Lunch'

By the summer of 1912, Murry and Mansfield were not only the co-editors of *Rhythm* but they were also a couple. At this time, referring to a woodcut by Thompson that had been published in the first issue of *Rhythm* depicting a tiger stalking a monkey (Figure 28), the novelist Gilbert Cannan christened the pair the Two Tigers.[161] In the ninth issue of the magazine, printed in October, a satirical sketch titled 'Sunday Lunch' appeared under Thompson's woodcut, signed 'The Tiger'. This pseudonym provided Mansfield with a ferocious persona with which to attack the eat-or-be-eaten world of the London literati.

The sketch opens: 'Sunday lunch is the last of the cannibal feasts. It is the wild, tremendous orgy of the upper classes, the hunting, killing, eating ground of all the George-the-Fifth-and-Mary English artists'.[162] Mansfield narrows the geographical focus of her attack further, from the 'English' to the cultural elite found in 'select squares' of London:

> The Society for the Cultivation of Cannibalism waxes most fat and kicks hardest (strictly under the table) in Chelsea, in St John's Wood, in certain select squares, and (God help them) gardens. Its members are legion, for there is no city in this narrow world which contains so vast a number of artists as London.[163]

[161] This nickname stuck: both Mansfield and Murry continued to refer to the other as 'Tig' / 'Wig'.
[162] (67) *Writings*, p. 404.
[163] Ibid. 405.

The members of this 'select' world meet to carry out the ritual slaughter of literary criticism: 'with most deliberate lightness, a victim is seized by the cannibals' and is handed round before the knife comes down and they feast. 'This obvious slaughter of the absentees is only a preliminary to a finer, more keen and difficult doing to death of each other', Mansfield writes: 'With ever greater skill and daring the cannibals draw blood'.[164]

This satirical attack on the art set found in the 'select squares' of London, written before she had met either Virginia Woolf or Ottoline Morrell, pre-empts Mansfield's later troubled relationship with 'the Bloomsberries'.[165] In 1918, Mansfield wrote to Morrell about her 'hatred of the Human Snigger' that she associated with 'the "Bloomsbury element" in life'.[166] Referring to Roger Fry and Clive Bell as 'the enemies of Art – of real true Art' the following year, she observed: 'The snigger is a very awful thing when one is young and the sneer can nearly kill'.[167] And, writing to Koteliansky in July 1919, Mansfield stated: 'the english literary world is given up to sniggerers, dishonesty, sneering, DULL DULL giggling'.[168] 'Sunday Lunch' depicts the back-stabbing, 'sneering' world of the London literati as Mansfield perceived it, with the murderous cannibal metaphor figuring the 'snigger' and 'sneer' that 'can nearly kill' a writer 'when one is young'.

In 1926, Woolf compared a cinema audience to a group of 'savages'. Such a comment was clearly structured by colonial, as well as class, prejudice, typifying the kind of invidious snobbism that Mansfield attacks in 'Sunday Lunch'. As Aimee Gasston has observed, rather than deploying the stereotype of the cannibal 'savage' in order to denigrate a deplored cultural democratisation, as Woolf does, 'Mansfield's depiction of the cultural elite as barbarian is far more radical. It seeks to destabilise established anatomies of privilege and

[164] Ibid. 406.
[165] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 42.
[166] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 168.
[167] Ibid. 336.
[168] Ibid. 341.

disrupt dominant metropolitan practices. In choosing the metaphorical modes that it does, it is also palpably anti-colonial'.[169] In particular, Mansfield appropriates the tropes of imperial discourse, of the wild and animalistic colonial 'other', in order to turn these stereotypes back on to the imperial centre. The trope of cannibalism, as Gasston has also examined, reverses an assumed relationship between coloniser and colonised. The Māoris of New Zealand, for example, were consistently associated with cannibalism by colonialists, an association that served to underline the need for a civilising presence in the country. Inverting these associations in her depiction of the 'cannibals' of Chelsea, Mansfield unsettles this relation between centre and periphery, suggesting that savagery lurks beneath the staid surface of 'upper class' English decorum. This inversion serves to underline the same transgressive impulse that shapes the spatial imaginary of Mansfield's short story contributions to *Rhythm*. 'Sunday Lunch' satirises the metropolitan assurance that savagery dwells at the peripheries of global space: instead, the spirit of savagery walks among the 'select squares' of London, at the heart of the imperial centre.

Significantly, the cannibal-artists in 'Sunday Lunch' trade in the eclectic icons of modernist primitivism, with a French woman holding a 'Chinese fan' as she reclines on a 'leopard skin' and the hostess saying to one of her guests:

> "Now I want to introduce you to Kaila Scarrotski. He's Hungarian. And he's been doing those naked backs for that café. And I know you know all about Hungary, and those extraordinary places. He's just read your 'Pallors of Passion' and he swears you've Slav blood." She presses the guest's hand thereby conveying: "Prove you have. Remember I didn't

[169] Aimee Gasston, 'Katherine Mansfield, Cannibal' in *Katherine Mansfield and the (Post)colonial*, ed. by Janet Wilson, Gerri Kimber and Delia da Sousa Correa (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p. 20.

> ask you to my lunch to wait until the food was served and then eat it and go. Beat your tom-tom, dear."[170]

The signifiers of colonial otherness (the leopard skin, the naked body, the tom-tom) and Orientalism (the Chinese fan) paradoxically become markers of cultural capital for the metropolitan 'cannibals'. Mansfield is parodying the way in which modernist primitivism exemplifies a form of cultural imperialism, of accumulation and appropriation of cultural artefacts taken from the peripheries to the centre of global space. This association between the cannibal-artists and Britain's imperialist class, in particular, is highlighted in the image of servants with 'foreign complexions' who circulate the room like 'marionettes'.[171]

The above passage, however, also suggests Mansfield's own potential complicity in this discourse of modernist primitivism. Indeed, the hostess's speech appears to be addressed to the narrator of the piece, an idea that is reinforced by the mention of the predilection for all things 'Slav' exhibited by this 'female cannibal'.[172] The publication of Mansfield's parodic translations would have firmly associated her with the Slavic among *Rhythm*'s readers. As such, Mansfield's satire is not only directed towards the contributors who show a penchant for the 'primitive' in the magazine, but is also directed towards herself: 'Sunday Lunch' self-reflexively parodies the way in which Mansfield bolstered her own writing in the magazine by appropriating the markers of other cultural and national traditions. This self-satire is underlined by the use of 'The Tiger' pseudonym, which suggests the very wildness and ferocity associated with the cannibal-artists. In 'Sunday Lunch', Mansfield not only seeks to reclaim the markers of cultural (colonial) marginality from appropriation by the metropolitan aesthetes of London, but she also attempts to out-savage these savages: in this eat-or-be-eaten world, Mansfield chooses to eat. As Gasston has observed, 'Mansfield hypocritically proves

[170] (67) *Writings*, pp. 405-6.
[171] Ibid. 405.
[172] Ibid.

herself a most effective cannibal': she 'enacts the same savagery she seeks to deride, thus embroiling herself irrevocably with her own satire'.[173]

'Sunday Lunch' is therefore indicative of the highly ambivalent position that Mansfield forged for herself within *Rhythm*. In the first instance, Mansfield appropriates and parodies stereotypes of the colonial 'other' in order to undercut the tropes of modernist primitivism and position herself against the English metropolitan elite. Yet she also highlights her own complicity in the very thing she attacks. The anti-democratic, anti-commercial rhetoric satirised in 'Sunday Lunch', for example, echoes the editorials that Mansfield co-authored for the magazine with Murry only months before. 'Sunday Lunch' therefore highlights how Mansfield's own cultural and editorial authority depended upon her incorporation (cannibalisation) into the very discourse that she sought to disrupt. Revealing the connections between modernist primitivism and cultural imperialism, however, 'Sunday Lunch' encodes an anti-colonial and anti-imperial critique, and thus maintains Mansfield's ironic, self-aware distance from this discourse. In particular, Mansfield 'others' the primitivists (including herself) and thus unsettles any pretensions towards essential binaries of race or class, or between centre and periphery. As such, Mansfield both identifies with and distances herself from both the 'savage' colonial 'other' *and* the 'sniggerers' of the 'english literary world': 'Sunday Lunch' positions Mansfield-as-Tiger in that liminal, ambivalent space *between* both possibilities. In this way, the sketch highlights Mansfield's knowing, self-aware eccentricity from both New Zealand and the metropolitan centre of London.

Conclusion

[173] Gasston, p. 21.

To quote the poem by Claudien cited in this chapter, the case study of *Rhythm* shows how early twentieth-century modernist magazines often figured an 'imaginary […] world' placing the reader at the 'centre' of spatial arrays of power. From the very first issue of *Rhythm*, ideas of 'community' and avant-garde affiliation were founded upon this notion of the magazine as a 'centre': contrasted with the regression implicitly associated with the global periphery, the magazine metonymically figures metropolitan modernity. Examining Mansfield's contributions to *Rhythm* illuminates how individual writers could intervene within these spatial dynamics. In particular, Mansfield's use of parody in *Rhythm* unsettles rigid centre-periphery binaries, opening up liminal spaces in the magazine of ambivalent negotiation that allow us to designate her more decisively as a colonial-metropolitan modernist.

Mansfield's use of parody throughout *Rhythm* recalls Bhabha's theory of 'mimicry': 'colonial mimicry' represents 'an *ironic* compromise', he writes, and expresses 'the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*'.[174] In other words, 'mimicry is constructed around an *ambivalence*; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference'.[175] 'The *menace* of mimicry', Bhabha writes, is contained within the '*double* vision' produced by this ambivalence: mimicry 'does not merely "rupture" the discourse, but becomes transformed into an uncertainty which fixes the colonial subject as a "partial" presence'.[176] In her 'parodic translations', for example, Mansfield's use of a pseudonym turns the author into a 'partial' presence and emphasises a multiplication of authorial non-identity that unsettles ideas of cultural and imperial hegemony. In 'The Woman at the Store', likewise, Mansfield's mimicry of a colonial literary genre 'others' the white settle community of New Zealand in order to disrupt cultural hierarchies between metropolitan centre and colonial periphery; contributing

[174] Bhabha, p. 122.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid. 126; 123.

to a metropolitan magazine, Mansfield positions herself as a modernist writer working *against* the colonial periphery (the 'other') *at the same time* as the 'excess' of this parodic otherness unsettles the discourse of communal affiliation advanced within *Rhythm*. Finally, 'Sunday Lunch' produces a satirical 'double vision' of identification and difference, between the 'savage' colonial 'other' and the cannibal-artists of the metropolitan elite.

Consistently founded upon ironic compromise and the ambiguity of self-fashioning, Mansfield's contributions to *Rhythm* highlight how her identification with the 'neo-barbarian' community of the magazine was always founded upon the excess, uncertainty, and slippage generated by imitation and parody. This ambivalent identification serves to highlight the essential performativity of modernist internationalism and cosmopolitanism in the magazine; furthermore, it demonstrates that the modes of affiliation promoted by periodical culture were often based upon imagined constructs that could be opened to critique. As such, Mansfield's contributions to *Rhythm* support Bhabha's theory that 'the question of identification is never the affirmation of a pre-given identity, never a *self*-fulfilling prophecy – it is always the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image'.[177] Mansfield's use of the Petrovsky pseudonym, in particular, highlights how her imagined affiliation with the political and cultural movements of nationalist resistance to imperial hegemony in Russia and Eastern Europe relied upon the performance of identity.

Mansfield's identification with the 'neo-barbarian' community of *Rhythm* was therefore founded upon the ambivalence of performance. Indeed, whilst her contributions consistently challenged the ideological assumptions promoted by Fauvist artwork printed in the magazine, Mansfield was profoundly influenced by both Fergusson and Rice, and later declared the importance of her friendships with these artists. Writing to Murry in 1915, for

[177] Ibid. 64.

instance, she states: 'I feel sometimes very much like Fergusson'.[178] After meeting the artist again in 1917, she describes their 'real understanding':

> We might have spoken a different language – returned from a far country. I just felt all was well, and we understood each other. Just that. And there was "ease" between us. There is a division: people who are my people, people who are not my people. He is mine.[179]

Writing to Rice in March 1920, likewise, Mansfield develops this opposition:

> I am lying here with "relations" the dearest people *only* they are not artists. You know what that means? I love them and theyve just been too good & dear to me but they are not in the same world that we are & I pine for *my own people* my own "wandering tribe".[180]

In these examples, it is the production of an image of identity that fulfils the desire for identification: it is the imaginaries of cultural otherness and global travel ('We might have spoken a different language – returned from a far country') and of the modern 'primitive' ('my own "wandering tribe"') that enable Mansfield to designate '*my own people*'.[181] In other words, whilst her magazine contributions had challenged the discourse of geographical expansion and modernist primitivism that had been advanced in *Rhythm*, it was precisely through the rhetoric of this discourse that Mansfield later expressed her sense of communal identification with these 'artists'. Whilst this may be indicative of Mansfield's greater integration into metropolitan culture after 1915, it is perhaps more representative of the fact that she was clearly aware that her integration *depended upon* deploying this rhetoric; that this was a discourse that she performed and negotiated with a degree of self-consciousness.

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[178] *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 225.
[179] *Journal*, pp. 123-4.
[180] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 250
[181] These quotations illuminate Edward Said's definition of 'modernism' as a response to the 'crisis' of '*filiation* – linear, biologically grounded process, that which ties children to their parents – which produced the counter-crisis within modernism of *affiliation*, that is, those creeds, philosophies, and visions re-assembling the world in new non-familial ways' (Edward Said, *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), p. xiii).

As examined in this chapter, Mansfield consistently maintained an ironic distance from the discourse of metaphorical violence and spatial conquest promoted in *Rhythm*, a distance that served to complicate her desire for assimilation within the culture of metropolitan modernism. This distance, and difference, became more pronounced as the magazine progressed towards the end of its short publication life. After the ninth issue of *Rhythm* appeared in October 1912, the magazine's publisher (Stephen Swift, aka Charles Granville) absconded from London due to bankruptcy, leaving Murry to shoulder significant debts. Mansfield wrote to Edward Marsh, editor of the famous *Georgian Poetry* anthologies, imploring him to help the magazine. Marsh secured Martin Secker as an alternate publisher, and in his wake followed a flood of Georgian poets to the pages of *Rhythm*. In December 1912, Fergusson also brought his position as art editor to an end. As a result, the visual content of the magazine became decidedly less avant-garde, and Murry and Mansfield were forced to recycle illustrative contributions that had appeared in earlier issues. In the fourteenth and last issue of *Rhythm*, published in March 1913, the title of a contribution by D. H. Lawrence signalled the new direction Murry would take with his subsequent publishing venture, supported by Secker: the successor to *Rhythm*, *The Blue Review*, became an organ for 'The Georgian Renaissance'.

Mansfield was listed as 'Associate Editor' of *The Blue Review*, but her role in the production of the magazine, seemingly limited to correspondence, was greatly diminished from what it had been on *Rhythm*. This change is also signalled by Mansfield's contributions to the magazine: whilst 'Millie' is another parody of the colonial 'outback' genre that can be grouped together with 'The Woman at the Store' and 'Ole Underwood', this story is anomalous among Mansfield's contributions to *The Blue Review*. Instead, Mansfield returned to the fiction-travelogue genre first developed in *The New Age*, with stories narrated by a detached, young woman travelling alone through Europe. When Murry insisted that she cut

one of these stories by half a page, Mansfield responded with what has become one of her best-known statements on the importance of form in her work:

> I've nursed the epilogue to no purpose. Every time I pick it up and hear "youll keep it to six," I *cant* cut it. To my knowledge there aren't any superfluous words: I mean every line of it. […] Im a powerful stickler for form in this style of work. I hate the sort of licence that English people give themselves – – to spread over and flop and roll about. I feel as fastidious as though I wrote with acid. […] I'd rather it wasn't there at all than sitting in the Blue Review with a broken nose and one ear as though it had jumped into an editorial dog fight.[182]

The staff members of *The Blue Review* included Rupert Brooke, Walter de la Mare, J. D. Beresford, John Drinkwater, and W. H. Davies, an English male clique of Georgian poets from which Mansfield was evidently excluded by both nationality and gender (Alpers writes, for instance, that when Mansfield missed an editorial meeting, it was decided in her absence that she would write on 'dress').[183] This exclusion evidently fuelled Mansfield's frustration with Murry in the letter quoted above: with the Georgian poets now dominant, there was certainly plenty of English 'flopping' and 'rolling about' going on in the magazine. Positioning herself against this 'sort of licence', Mansfield distinguished her writing by a 'fastidiousness' associated with her outsider status. Newly pronounced by the changes made in the transition from the internationalist and cosmopolitan *Rhythm* to *The Blue Review*, which was implicitly 'English', this felt status as a national 'outsider' perhaps explains Mansfield's return to the fiction-travelogue genre. As in *The New Age*, her exclusion from the imagined national community of *The Blue Review* generated stories in which critique is limited to the silent protests of an ostracised, itinerant, semi-autobiographical protagonist.

[182] *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 124.
[183] Antony Alpers, *The Life of Katherine Mansfield*, revised edition (London: Jonathan Cape, 1980), p. 157.

As Murry tried to secure funds for *The Blue Review* before publication of the first issue in May 1913, Mansfield wrote to him, stating:

> I am beginning to 'pretend' that you are a sailor – trading with all sorts of savages from Monday to Friday – & that the *Blue Review* is your schooner & Secker the Fish Eyed Pilot. Couldn't you write a long-complicated-extremely-insulting-symbolical-serial around that idea with minute, obscene descriptions of the savage tribes…?[184]

The use of scare quotes around 'pretend' emphasises Mansfield's caustic tone and her ironic distance from the narrative that she sketches. Significantly, this was precisely the narrative upon which Murry had outlined the aims and ideals of *Rhythm* two years previously: of the aristocratic artist-pioneer, thrusting ever outwards to the imagined peripheries of global space in a domination of land, sea, and the 'barbaric' or 'savage' other.

Mansfield's contributions to *Rhythm* enact an uneasy, ambivalent negotiation of this narrative, as this chapter has examined: on the one hand, Mansfield clearly identified with the metropolitan modernism and cultural cosmopolitanism advanced within the magazine; on the other, however, her contributions to *Rhythm* reverse the direction of travel taken by the artist-pioneer in order to locate 'savagery' at the heart of empire, in the white settler communities at the frontier and in the 'select squares' of London. In this way, these contributions represent an ironic and ambivalent, but ultimately self-aware and anti-colonial intervention within the magazine. Adopting the tropes of 'colonial writing', the parodies that Mansfield published in *Rhythm* therefore encode an already known postcolonial vision, disrupting the discourse of imperialist expansion by which contributors to the magazine had previously articulated ideas of modernist affiliation.

[184] *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 120.

3. *The Athenaeum*

‘Wanted, a New Word’ (World)

In June 1920, Katherine Mansfield set down her most developed exposition of what she understood by modern short fiction in a review for *The Athenaeum* titled ‘Wanted, a New Word’. Clare Hanson has described this as ‘virtually the only “manifesto” KM produced for the kind of fiction she herself wrote’.[1] When Murry later collected this review in *Novels and Novelists* (1930), however, he erroneously gave it the title ‘Wanted, a New World’, which was then subsequently used in Hanson’s edition of *The Critical Writings of Katherine Mansfield* (1987) and in B. J. Kirkpatrick’s bibliography of works by Mansfield (1989). This slippage not only calls attention to the mutability of Mansfield’s writing as it passed through different textual transmissions, encouraging us to return to the original sites of publication in periodicals and magazines, but also suggests a direct correlation between her ideas of modernist formal experimentation and a geographical imaginary of discovery.

Indeed, after the death of her brother in October 1915, when Mansfield travelled to the south of France, she made a series of famous notebook entries linking her commitment to finding a new ‘form’ with making the ‘undiscovered country leap into the eyes of the old

[1] Clare Hanson, ‘Introduction’ in *The Critical Writings of Katherine Mansfield* (London: Macmillan, 1987), p. 136.

world'. The 'form that I would choose has changed utterly', she wrote, addressing her brother; 'I feel no longer concerned with the same appearance of things':

> Oh, I want for one moment to make our undiscovered country leap into the eyes of the old world. It must be mysterious, as though floating – it must take the breath. It must be 'one of those islands' […] Then I want to write poetry. I feel always trembling on the brink of poetry. […] But especially I want to write a kind of long elegy to you – – – perhaps not in poetry. No, perhaps in Prose – almost certainly in a kind of special prose.[2]

Mansfield instinctively reaches for a spatial vocabulary of empire when thinking about writing and language here, positioning herself as a New Zealander narrating the colonial nation (the 'new world') within the context of the European 'old world'. Subsequently, metaphors of the 'undiscovered', 'unexplored' and 'hidden country' begin to recur with astonishing frequency in Mansfield's letters to describe her formal approach to fiction. Writing to J. D. Fergusson in September 1918, for example, she states that 'it is extraordinary how little people have done – at any rate – at my job – and how content they have been with the chance encounter or a matrimonial stodge. All that lies between is almost undiscovered and unexplored'.[3] In a letter written to Ottoline Morrell in July 1919, likewise, in which she notes the 'peculiar *male* arrogance' of writers such as Joyce and Pound, Mansfield observes:

> I *do* believe that the time has come for a 'new word' but I imagine the new word will not be spoken easily. People have never explored the lovely medium of prose. It is a hidden country still – I feel that so profoundly.[4]

Similarly, writing to the painter Dorothy Brett, Mansfield consistently employed the idea of the 'undiscovered' to describe their artistic endeavours. In 1920, for example, she asks what

[2] *Notebooks*, vol. 2, pp. 32-3.
[3] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 275.
[4] Ibid. 343.

urges them as artists to 'feel that you *must* make *your* discovery and that I *must* make *mine*?'[5] On another occasion, with paradoxical playfulness, she tells Brett: 'Do come soon and tell me of your discovery if its undiscoverable'.[6] Then later: 'I always feel I am at sea – on a ship – anchored before a new, undiscovered country'.[7]

As Angela Smith notes, Mansfield derived the phrase 'undiscovered country' from Shakespeare's Hamlet, for whom it is death, the destination from which no traveller returns.[8] It is tempting, therefore, to interpret Mansfield's commitment to finding a new form after 1915 through the biographical contexts of her brother's death, and this is overwhelmingly the position that critics have adopted. Furthermore, it is regularly noted that the intensification and illumination of the everyday that Mansfield identified as the quality of 'special prose' ('all must be told with a sense of mystery, a radiance, an after glow') became the defining characteristic of her best-known stories, written in the last years of her life and set in the New Zealand of her youth, such as 'Prelude', 'At the Bay', 'The Doll's House', and 'The Garden Party'.[9] In what ways, though, were Mansfield's interrelated ideas of a 'new word' and an undiscovered, unexplored 'new world' also conditioned by the wider cultural contexts of periodical publication, rather than by feelings of grief and personal loss? And to what extent did these ideas shape not just Mansfield's late short stories but also the critical vocabulary that she employed in her literary reviews?

This chapter examines the ways in which Mansfield linked the 'new word' of modernist formal experimentation with the spatial imaginary of a 'new world' throughout her contributions to *The Athenaeum*, a periodical edited by Murry from early 1919. Unlike the coterie magazines that Murry had previously edited, *The Athenaeum* was an established

[5] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 262.
[6] *Letters*, vol. 4, p. 19.
[7] Ibid. 317.
[8] Angela Smith, *Katherine Mansfield: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 123.
[9] *Notebooks*, vol. 2, p. 32.

periodical with established credentials. First launched in 1828, it had gained a reputation as 'the mirror of Victorian culture'.[10] By the early decades of the twentieth century, however, this reputation had begun to wane. In 1916, the political journalist Arthur Greenwood turned *The Athenaeum* from a literary weekly into a monthly 'Journal of Reconstruction', focusing almost exclusively on the political, economic, and social issues arising from the First World War.[11] With the financial backing of the chocolatier Arnold Rowntree, Murry was tasked with returning the periodical to its pre-war character as a literary review, and was given three months to prepare his first issue, published on 4 April 1919.

As Michael Whitworth has observed, 'Murry had a sense of mission about the editorship: he wanted to make the journal a success again, "as a duty to literature & my country"; to fail would be "an act of treachery to English literature"'.[12] Whilst he retained the conservative typography and layout of *The Athenaeum* (Figure 31), Murry turned the periodical into a vital organ for an emerging 'modernist' literary culture in Britain, assembling a team of regular contributors culled from the artistic circles of Bloomsbury and Garsington. These included Leonard and Virginia Woolf, T. S. Eliot, Aldous Huxley, Bertrand Russell, Lytton Strachey and his brother James, Clive Bell, Roger Fry, and E. M. Forster. Virginia Woolf identified the periodical as 'the most brilliant list of contributors on record'.[13] Similarly, after reading through the second issue of the periodical, Lytton Strachey wrote to Ottoline Morrell describing *The Athenaeum* as 'a great addition to existence'.[14] As

[10] See Leslie A. Marchand, The Athenaeum*: A Mirror of Victorian Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1940)
[11] In February 1919, for example, Mansfield wrote to Ottoline Morrell: 'The dreadful truth is, of course that for the last 2 years the A. has not been literary at all but a journal of reconstruction concerned especially with problems such as: Why should not every Working mans Cottage have its P.W.C?' (*Letters*, vol. 2, p. 303)
[12] Michael H. Whitworth, 'Enemies of Cant: *The Athenaeum* (1919-21) and *The Adelphi* (1923-48)' in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Volume I: Britain and Ireland, 1880-1955*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 366.
[13] Virginia Woolf, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 1, ed. by Anne Olivier Bell (London: Hogarth Press, 1977), p. 260.
[14] Quoted by Michael Holroyd, *Lytton Strachey: A Critical Biography*, vol. 2 (London: Heinemann, 1968), pp. 351-2.

David Goldie has observed, *The Athenaeum* was 'for a short time the pre-eminent literary journal in England'.[15] From April 1919 until February 1921, when Murry announced that he would be resigning as editor and that the periodical would be merged with *The Nation, The Athenaeum* had succeeded in bringing together a set of contributors of whom the majority, in the words of Oscar Wellen, 'were soon to emerge as the shapers of a new literary and critical culture in Britain'.[16] On hearing of the periodical's demise, for example, H. G. Wells referred to *The Athenaeum* as 'the one hope of literary decency in England'.[17] Likewise, Eliot later described 'the brief and brilliant life of the *Athenaeum* under Mr. Middleton Murry' as 'a high summer of literary journalism'.[18]

Katherine Mansfield was central to this success. Between April 1919 and December 1920, Mansfield put creative writing on hold as she worked overtime to meet the demands of reviewing for *The Athenaeum*, writing at least one, sometimes two or three, literary reviews a week. After she travelled to the Italian Riviera due to worsening illness, Murry regularly wrote to Mansfield with letters obviously intended to raise her spirits but which nevertheless give a clear indication of how highly her reviews were held in esteem back in England:

> Tommy [H. M. Tomlinson] told me the other day that he was talking to a sub-editor of the *Weekly Dispatch*, just a hardened professional journalist, and he asked him what he thought of the *Athenaeum*. He said he thought it jolly good, but one thing especially. He would buy it for K.M.'s article alone, every week. […] So keep it up my darling & send me an extra article when you can. You'll be making a terrific reputation for yourself before the winter's out.[19]

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[15] David Goldie, *A Critical Difference: T. S. Eliot and John Middleton Murry in English Literary Criticism, 1919-1928* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 14.
[16] Oscar Wellens, '"The Brief and Brilliant Life of *The Athenaeum* under Mr. Middleton Murry" (T. S. Eliot)' in *Neophilologus*, 85 (2001), p. 138.
[17] Quoted in F. A. Lea, *The Life of John Middleton Murry* (London: Methuen, 1959), p. 83.
[18] T. S. Eliot, *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism* (London: Methuen & Co., 1920), p. viii; quoted in Whitworth, p. 366.
[19] John Middleton Murry, *The Letters of John Middleton Murry to Katherine Mansfield*, ed. by Cherry A. Hankin (London: Constable, 1983), p. 185.

At dinner parties, guests would agree that Mansfield's 'novel-reviews were the finest in England' and Murry became convinced that 'there can't be a really bad number of the *Athenaeum*' so long as 'your novel page is there': 'It's quite unlike – in a different class to – anything that's being done in the way of reviewing anywhere to-day'.[20]

Given this almost ingratiating praise, it is perhaps surprising that Murry seemingly failed to allow Mansfield to flex her critical muscles to the full; instead of tackling works by canonical authors, Mansfield was overwhelmingly given novels to critique that were, in the words of her first review, nothing more than 'little puppets, little make-believes, playthings on strings with the same stare and the same sawdust filling'.[21] When she wrote to Murry as the centenary of George Eliot's birth approached in late 1919, asking him to send a life of the author and some of the novels so that she could write the leader that would undoubtedly be published in *The Athenaeum*, for instance, Murry not only failed to send these books but also gave the leader to Mansfield's cousin, Sydney Waterlow. Moreover, Mansfield's letters to Murry at this time contain astute observations about Shakespeare, Chekhov, Dickens, and Keats, 'all of which cry out for fuller treatment' in *The Athenaeum*.[22] In the face of this apparent refusal to entrust Mansfield with appraising such writers in the periodical, scholars have often adopted a rather indignant attitude towards Murry on Mansfield's behalf, inferring that he did not consider her to be sufficiently intellectual or well educated enough.[23]

This inference, however, ignores the important and unique place that Mansfield's 'novel page' occupied within *The Athenaeum*. In comparison to the weightier, more serious, and perhaps more 'high-brow' style of reviewers such as Eliot and Woolf, Mansfield's reviews were deliberately and disarmingly lighter; she adopted a writing voice that was more

[20] Ibid. 280; 210.
[21] (109) *Writings*, p. 444.
[22] Smith, 'GUTS – Katherine Mansfield as a Reviewer' in *Katherine Mansfield Studies*, 1 (2009), p. 9.
[23] See, for instance, Smith, 'GUTS – Katherine Mansfield as a Reviewer', 3-18.

conversational and witty. It was this unique style that contributed to the success of the reviews, and Mansfield was well aware of the important role that they played within the periodical. In 'seeking for pearls in such a prodigious number of new books', she observes:

> What is extremely impressive to the novel reviewer is the modesty of the writers – their diffidence in declaring themselves what they are – their almost painful belief that they must model themselves on somebody. […] One would imagine that round the corner there was a little band of jeering, sneering, superior persons ready to leap up and laugh if the cut of the new-comer's jacket is not of the strangeness they consider admissible. In the name of the new novel, the new sketch, the new story, if they are really there, let us defy them.[24]

In a letter to Murry, Mansfield echoes this idea of the 'little band of jeering, sneering, superior persons' when she writes:

> One must have an open mind. Its so difficult not to find a *sneerer*. Whats the good of sneering? Imagine what Strachey or V.W. would think of a man like Brett Young – but hes WORTH considering. One must keep a balance – i.e. one must be critical. Theres your mighty pull over your whole generation – and there's what's going to make the Athenaeum what it is in your imagination.[25]

In October 1919, Murry had written to Mansfield: 'I want the *Athenaeum* to be judicial, to praise what is really good *wherever* it comes from'.[26] The following month, she writes: 'Thats what I like about the A. – the way it *steadies* opinion'.[27] For Mansfield, what we would term today 'popular' or 'middlebrow' writers were 'worth considering' because their work provided 'balance' and steadied opinion: it was only by being receptive to all writing that the critic might perceive the 'new word' in a novel, sketch, or story.

[24] (223) *Writings*, pp. 627-8.
[25] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 48.
[26] Murry, *The Letters of John Middleton Murry to Katherine Mansfield*, p. 194.
[27] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 104.

Mansfield considered her reviewing to be part of a vital post-war project of cultural rejuvenation that would pave the way for the arrival of a 'new word'. Whilst she ultimately finds Francis Brett Young's novel *The Young Physician* 'readable to a fault' and too focused on providing 'entertainment' for an 'impatient public', for instance, she also perceives in it 'a very honest sincere attempt to face the great difficulty which presents itself to the writers of to-day – which is to find their true expression and to make it adequate to the new fields of experience':

> [W]e live in an age of experiment, when the next novel may be unlike any novel that has been published before; when writers are seeking after new forms in which to express something more subtle, more complex, 'nearer' the truth; when a few of them feel that perhaps after all prose is an almost undiscovered medium and that there are extraordinary, thrilling possibilities … [28]

This example highlights the way in which Mansfield used unpromising or unsuccessful material in her reviews for *The Athenaeum* in order to carve out her own ideas about the 'thrilling possibilities' of formal innovation. The 'middlebrow' writers were important for Mansfield in revealing this vacuum in post-war literature, an 'undiscovered' space that would be filled with 'new forms' able to adequately express 'new fields of experience' in a post-war world. Mansfield's reviews therefore demand closer attention, not just for what they tell us about individual writers and works, but also for what they reveal about the development of Mansfield's own ideas about literature and modernist formal experimentation after the war.

As the majority of books that Mansfield reviewed for *The Athenaeum* have not stood the test of time, however, scholars have often underestimated or discounted the importance of

[28] (249 and 163) *Writings*, pp. 666; 520.

her critical writings.[29] Furthermore, rather than illuminating historical contexts underpinning her reviews, most commentators have emphasised biographical contexts for Mansfield's association with the periodical; on the rare occasions that they have been discussed, Mansfield's critical writings have often been interpreted as motivated either by feelings of duty towards Murry or resentment towards Woolf. Marysa Demoor, for example, implies that Mansfield's decision to work for the periodical was motivated by a desire to 'establish her husband's renommée as an editor'.[30] Similarly, Wellens interprets Mansfield's commitment to reviewing as a sign that she 'gave her active support to her husband's performance of his editorial obligations'.[31] More significantly, Mansfield's review of Woolf's novel *Night and Day* in November 1919 has dominated discussions of her association with *The Athenaeum*. As McDonnell has observed in one of the few measured assessments of Mansfield's critical writings, this has had the effect of 'reducing almost two years of her professional writing career to the composition of a solitary review'.[32] Invariably interpreted as an expression of Mansfield's feelings of resentment towards the older writer's burgeoning success, the review of *Night and Day* has led scholars such as David Dowling to argue that the entirety of Mansfield's critical writings were blinkered by feelings of jealousy towards contemporaries and feelings of inadequacy towards writers of the past, such as Chekhov.[33] Such biographical exaggerations and inaccuracies, as McDonnell has argued, give insufficient consideration to the material that Mansfield actually wrote and to the publishing environment of *The Athenaeum*.[34]

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[29] Two notable exceptions are Hanson's introduction to *The Critical Writings of Katherine Mansfield* (1987) and a chapter in Jenny McDonnell's book *Katherine Mansfield and the Modernist Marketplace: At the Mercy of the Public* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
[30] Marysa Demoor, *Their Fair Share: Women, Power and Criticism in the* Athenaeum*, from Millicent Garrett Fawcett to Katherine Mansfield, 1870-1920* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 145.
[31] Wellens, p. 142.
[32] McDonnell, p. 117.
[33] David Dowling, 'Katherine Mansfield's Criticism: "There Must Be the Question Put"' in *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 6 (1988), pp. 158-60.
[34] McDonnell, pp. 116-17.

Far from being the dutiful appendage to her husband, Mansfield was incredibly active in the production of *The Athenaeum*. This is highlighted in the letters that she wrote to Murry whilst living abroad. Composing long letters critiquing individual issues of the periodical, Mansfield often states with emphasis: '*This one simply thrills me*'; or, 'that *PAPER. It simply fascinates me*. If only I were by your side, sharing the work more, discussing it more, seeing the people more, helping more'.[35] In one letter, she exclaims: 'The Athenaeum for Ever!!!!!' and describes the periodical as 'our future'.[36] After all, *The Athenaeum* was not only increasing Murry's 'renommée as an editor' but was also securing what he described as Mansfield's 'terrific reputation' as a critic. Mansfield certainly viewed the periodical as a joint enterprise, describing it as 'our paper' and stating: 'We are both *slaves* to the Athene'.[37] Mansfield tells Murry that she is 'always thinking of the paper & wondering about it' and asks practical editorial questions, such as: 'How is our circulation?'[38] This involvement in the running of the periodical is demonstrated further when Mansfield returned to London in the spring of 1920. She writes to Sydney and Violet Schiff, for instance, describing how she is 'buried alive under the Athenaeum': 'this week is covered under manuscripts to be read, poems, essays to choose "finally," novels to review, schemes to draft, [and] an article to write on *why we intend to publish short stories*'.[39] In these letters, Mansfield highlights just how enthusiastically she endorsed and stoked the youthful idealism of the periodical:

> We discussed all the way home, a new Athenaeum – the idea of throwing overboard all the learned societies and ancient men and reviews of Dull old Tomes, and opening the windows to the hurrying sounds outside, and throwing all the old gang into the river.[40]

[35] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 21; 46.
[36] Ibid. 79.
[37] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 84; vol. 2, p. 344.
[38] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 104; vol. 4, p. 74.
[39] *Letters*, vol. 4, pp. 17; 8.
[40] Ibid. 20.

As is examined later in the chapter, this idea of 'opening the windows to the hurrying sounds outside, and throwing all the old gang into the river' reflects contemporary debates about literary impressionism, as articulated in such essays as Woolf's 'Modern Novels'.

Mansfield was therefore clearly devoted to the periodical, far beyond a marital commitment to Murry as editor-husband, and this is demonstrated in just how seriously she approached the task of reviewing. Writing from Italy, she tells Murry: 'Its a thousand times harder for me to write reviews here […] I have to get into full divers clothes & rake the floor of the unprofitable sea. All the same *it is my life: it saves me*'.[41] Considering her 'work' for *The Athenaeum* in October 1920, she again emphasises: '*I could not live here without it*'.[42] Similarly, Mansfield's notebooks from this time evidence how seriously she took the practice of reviewing, containing remorselessly self-critical assessments of her own criticism: 'Not good enough. Uneven, shallow, forced. Very thin, pocket muslin handkerchief vocabulary!'; 'I did not say what I set out to say. It is not close knit enough'; 'Shows traces of hurry, & at the end, is pompous!'[43] Likewise, she regularly writes to Murry imploring him to be harsh in his criticism of her reviews and to haul her 'over the very hottest coals'.[44] For Mansfield, reviewing was a craft that required constant revision and unremitting hard work. As such, the reviews deserve to be positioned as an important genre within Mansfield's oeuvre; devoting almost two years of her late career to reviewing for *The Athenaeum*, Mansfield's critical writings demand renewed academic attention.

This chapter examines the ways in which ideas advanced within Mansfield's reviews were conditioned by the contexts of periodical publication, existing in dialogue with the work of others. In particular, the title that Murry later gave his autobiography for these years,

[41] *Letters*, vol. 3, pp. 73-4.
[42] *Letters*, vol. 4, p. 68.
[43] *Notebooks*, vol. 2, pp. 176–7.
[44] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 31.

Between Two Worlds (1935), suggests a point of entry for this chapter. As a contemporary reviewer noted, the 'two worlds' of Murry's title 'will commonly be regarded as the world of phenomena or objective presentation, and the world of the spirit or subjective interpretation […] But there is another possible reading of these two worlds, suggested by Mr. Murry's text from Matthew Arnold'.[45] In 'Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse', Arnold had described himself as '[w]andering between two worlds, one dead / The other powerless to be born'.[46] As I examine in the first section of this chapter, this notion of the 'two worlds' shaped the intellectual response to the First World War in *The Signature* and then *The Athenaeum*, with contributors consistently contrasting the old, pre-war world with a 'new world' in becoming. Mansfield's reviews clearly helped to shape this idea of the 'two worlds'. Furthermore, the 'new world' was regularly posited as a 'world of the spirit or subjective interpretation' in *The Athenaeum*, so that there was in fact much overlap between the twin readings of the 'two worlds' identified by the reviewer of Murry's autobiography. The second section of the chapter examines how this concept of a 'new world' of 'subjective interpretation' shaped Mansfield's critical vocabulary. Envisaging language as a negotiation between the 'inner' and 'outer life' throughout her critical writings, Mansfield developed notions of the liminal 'moment' and epiphanic 'revelation' as concepts mediating between the objective, material world and subjective, spiritual world. These conceptual ideas and individual word choices reflect an on-going dialogue between Mansfield's reviews and critical essays by Virginia Woolf outlining the aesthetic principles of literary impressionism, a dialogue that exemplifies the 'conversational modernism' that Churchill and McKible have suggested early twentieth-century periodicals looked to enact.

[45] J. D. Beresford, '"Between Two Worlds"' in *Adelphi* 10.1 (April 1935), p. 13.
[46] Matthew Arnold, 'Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse' in *The Poems of Matthew* Arnold, ed. by Miriam Allott (London; New York: Longman, 1979), p. 305.

This analysis highlights how Mansfield's reviews occupy a liminal position 'between two worlds' and how her critical vocabulary of a 'new word' and 'new world' was shaped not just by a spatial imaginary of empire (the 'undiscovered country' that leaps into the eyes of the 'old world') but also by the contemporary intellectual response to the First World War and the cultural shift from objective realism to the 'inner life' of literary impressionism. As outlined in the second section of the chapter, 'impressionism' is a term that can be applied to a wide range of authors, including nineteenth-century novelists such as Flaubert, as well as pre-war writers such as Henry James and Joseph Conrad. The schism between pre- and post-war literature, mapped onto the dichotomy between realism and impressionism, was therefore a contemporary construct advanced within periodicals such as *The Athenaeum*; it was a false distinction that nevertheless shaped how writers such as Mansfield conceptualised the task of literature after the war and identified their writing with the work of others. Turning our attention to Mansfield's reviews for *The Athenaeum*, an extensive yet much-overlooked body of work, as such, we can trace how she formulated ideas about literature and modernist formal innovation in response to specific cultural contexts as well as particular intellectual exchanges. In this way, Mansfield's literary reviews highlight the relational model of creation that early twentieth-century periodicals sustained.

The Spiritual Crisis

In the autumn of 1915, Mansfield and Murry joined D. H. Lawrence in establishing a little magazine titled *The Signature*. The project had been suggested by Lawrence, who was motivated to do something in the face of the 'disintegration' of the First World War: 'One must speak for life and growth amid all this mass of destruction and disintegration', he

declared to Harriet Monroe, and one must 'hold up the other, living truth, of Right, and pure reality, the reality of the clear, eternal spirit […] So I bring out this little paper'.[47]

The Signature certainly was 'little'. Produced on cheap brown paper, it was neither attractive nor ambitious in scope, containing work only by Lawrence, Murry, and Mansfield. To Cynthia Asquith, Lawrence professed: 'I don't want the *Signature* to be a "success", I want it only to rally together just a few passionate, vital, constructive people'.[48] Lawrence proposed to publish six issues of the magazine, with each issue serialising a section of his own philosophical meditation on the war, titled 'The Crown'. There needed to be 250 subscribers to pay for the 250 copies of each of the six issues: by 22 September, two days before Lawrence sent the printer the manuscript of the first part of 'The Crown' for the first issue, there were about 30 subscribers; by 2 October, when he had prepared all six parts, there were still only about 56 subscribers.[49] These included George Bernard Shaw, Albert Rothenstein, Frank Swinnerton, Clifford Bax, and Lytton Strachey, yet with just a fifth of the total number of subscribers needed *The Signature* could not continue; in the end, only three issues were forthcoming. The venture was patently not a success, and critics have subsequently tended to discount the significance of *The Signature* in Mansfield's career. Saralyn Daly, for example, dismisses the magazine as 'a short-lived fiasco'.[50] When it is considered, if at all, *The Signature* is often positioned as a brief coda to the publication history of *Rhythm* and *The Blue Review*, the venues in which Lawrence first came into contact with Murry and Mansfield. This is mistaken, I believe. *The Signature* was important in the development of Mansfield's career not as a sorry endnote, but as the beginning of a trajectory that culminated in the critical writings she produced for *The Athenaeum*.

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[47] D. H. Lawrence, *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, vol. 2, ed. by George J. Zytaruk and James T. Boulton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 394.
[48] Ibid. 411.
[49] Figures estimated from S. S. Koteliansky's papers in the British Library.
[50] Saralyn R. Daly, *Katherine Mansfield*, revised edition (New York; Oxford: Maxwell MacMillan, 1994), p. 46.

The main reason that Mansfield scholars have not examined *The Signature* in any depth is that she was clearly peripheral to the project. Lawrence summarised the division of labour on the magazine in the same way across several letters, trying to secure subscriptions: 'I am going to do the preaching – sort of philosophy – the beliefs by which one can reconstruct the world: Murry will do his ideas on […] freedom for the individual soul, Katharine [sic] Mansfield will do her little satirical sketches'.[51] Under the pseudonym of 'Matilda Berry', Mansfield contributed to the magazine two short stories under the title 'Autumns' (the second story was later rewritten as 'The Wind Blows') as well as 'The Little Governess', which was published in the magazine in two parts. None of the stories had a direct connection to the war, which was the central subject of the essays by both Lawrence and Murry, and 'The Little Governess' had in fact first been intended for publication in an entirely different magazine, the New York-based 'magazine of cleverness' *The Smart Set*. As such, Mansfield's short stories in *The Signature* seem oddly placed, with each having little connection to the 'preaching' that flanked it. When Murry wrote to Mansfield asking her for more contributions, for example, she responded: 'Ill send you something for the Signature but don't flatter me – Im only the jam in the golden pill – and I know my place, Betsey'.[52]

The magazine, however, was important in introducing Mansfield to a certain vocabulary and mode of writing formulated in direct response to the 'disintegration' and 'destruction' of the war. Attempting to articulate 'the beliefs by which one can reconstruct the world' in *The Signature*, for instance, the phrase a 'new world' permeates Lawrence's writings at this time. At the end of December 1915, for example, he writes to Mansfield in Bandol, telling her of the new life they must live and the 'new world' they must make:

[51] Lawrence, *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, vol. 2, p. 386.
[52] *Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 218-19.

> When you come back, I want you and Murry to live with us, or near us, in unanimity: not these separations. Let us all live together and create a new world. If it is too difficult in England, because here all is destruction and dying and corruption, let us go away to Florida: soon.[53]

Similarly, Lawrence only wanted 'people who really care, and who really want a new world, to subscribe' to *The Signature*.[54] This 'new world' would be brought about through a radical revolt against the past, emerging through a cyclical process of destruction and creation: 'We must let go of the old; when corruption is necessary, all must be given up to it; for then the creative process can and will begin again, a new dawn, a new world'.[55] This was the central idea around which Lawrence structured his allegorical philosophy in 'The Crown'.

Lawrence had the habit of working on more than one piece of writing at a time, each at a different stage of composition, so that there is a strong element of continuity across his philosophical works. In the 1913 'Foreword to *Sons and Lovers*', Lawrence began to apply a religious dichotomy between 'Word' and 'Flesh' to his explication of personal conflicts between man and woman. In 'Study of Thomas Hardy', begun the following year, he worked out his conviction that conflict and the marriage of opposites was the structuring element in both sexual relationships and artistic creativity: from the Father ('Word') and Son ('Flesh') comes the Holy Spirit and the work of art. In 'The Crown', Lawrence restated this central dialectic, now imaged in the two beasts of the royal coat of arms, the unicorn ('Word') and the lion ('Flesh'), fighting unceasingly under a crown created out of the clash of their own opposition. By 1915, the horror of the war's stalemate had sharpened Lawrence's belief that destruction and creation were cyclical and seasonal: sometimes there can be no creation, victory or cessation, only chaos. In the third instalment of the essay published in *The*

[53] Lawrence, *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, vol. 2, p. 482.
[54] Ibid. p. 387.
[55] Quoted in Mark Kinkead-Weekes, *D.H. Lawrence: triumph to exile, 1912-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 271.

Signature, Lawrence begins to analyse the total disintegration that, he now sees, must precede any creation. Only when the previous consummation has completely disintegrated back to its original elements can the creative process begin again, Lawrence suggests. When people cling to the outwardly known, when they insist upon preserving old forms of society, relationship or value, there can be no creation; the only way forward must be to let go of the past completely, only then can a 'new world' of consummation and creation begin.

Lawrence believed that the war had come about because of a refusal to renounce the past and the old forms of society, and that this had created a rottenness and corruption at the heart of European civilisation. When the war ended, therefore, he did not rejoice. David Garnett recalled that Lawrence told a gathering of Bloomsbury's inner circle celebrating the armistice: 'the war isn't over. The hate and evil is greater now than ever […] and will show itself in all sorts of ways which will be worse than war'.[56] There had not been the radical transformation in consciousness Lawrence had hoped for, and the same rottenness would therefore persist. The responsibility for this ultimately lay with the individual. In the 1919 foreword to *Women in Love*, for example, Lawrence declares: 'We are now in a period of crisis. Every man who is acutely alive is acutely wrestling with his own soul. The people that can bring forth the new passion, the new idea, this people will endure'.[57]

Whilst Mansfield was consistently sceptical about Lawrence's plans to establish an actual island community of 'Rananim', she was clearly influenced by his idea of a permanent 'world' of 'pure reality', 'eternal spirit' and 'living truth' created in opposition to the war's disintegration and destruction. In 1918, for example, she writes to Ida Baker, contrasting 'this imperfect, present world' with 'the real unchanging world'.[58] Similarly, Mansfield tells

[56] David Garnett, *The Flowers of the Forest* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1955), pp. 190-1.
[57] Lawrence, 'Foreword to *Women in Love*' in *Women in Love*, ed. by David Farmer, Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen (London: Penguin, 1995), p. 486.
[58] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 262.

Murry that she feels 'full of HATE – hate for this awkward hideous world': 'The world is *hideous* – & we are apart'.[59] To Morrell she notes that 'the War […] has made me realise so deeply and finally the *corruption* of the world': 'the only possible life is remote – remote'.[60] Mansfield tells Morrell that they are both 'in the Same World': by contrast, 'one must hate humankind in the mass – hate them as passionately as one loves the few – the very few'.[61] Regarding the garden at Garsington, moreover, Mansfield writes to Morrell:

> God – isn't it a joy really to have a world of one's own – into which all the unreal people never can come – even if the real ones tarry dreadfully – too – At any rate – its *there* – its *ready* – there are moments even now when all its thrilling beauty is almost discovered.[62]

Mansfield attempts to imagine a 'world' that is waiting to be discovered, a world divorced from 'the cruelty and corruptness of mankind'.[63] This would be a world of the 'very few', separate and remote from 'other people who are in the other world and never have known ours'.[64] Writing to Murry in 1920, for example, Mansfield celebrates 'how PURE artists are – how clean and faithful' and 'so remote from all this corruption': 'One can't afford to MIX with people. One must keep clear of all the worldly world. And we can do it'.[65]

As well as directing Mansfield's ideas about a 'world' apart, *The Signature* was also important in shaping her notion of a 'new word'. In his articles for the magazine, Murry developed a deeply personal response to the war that not infrequently spilled over into a self-pitying mode of address, as evidenced in the title for his contributions to *The Signature*, 'There Was a Little Man'. Mansfield later chided Murry for this writing style, criticising one of his 1917 reviews as 'indecent' and 'a "Signature" style of writing': 'I feel that you are

[59] Ibid. 48; 138.
[60] Ibid. 86.
[61] Ibid. 352; 339.
[62] Ibid. 293.
[63] Ibid. 256.
[64] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 15.
[65] Ibid. 255.

going to uncover yourself and quiver'.[66] Yet Murry's articles were important in reiterating the same philosophical outlook as promoted in Lawrence's contributions. Both writers advocate a complete renunciation of the past, with Murry observing: 'the new freedom will not be as the old; it cannot be. The bitter knowledge of evil is in our blood'.[67] As in 'The Crown', the Bible is also a structuring element in 'There Was a Little Man'. If Christ 'said: I will die in this life that I may be free in the life to come, and you may be free in me', then Murry declares: 'I have a new word. In this life must life be justified'.[68]

This idea of a 'new word' became ever more central to Murry's writings after 1915. When Mansfield moved to the south of France after the failure of *The Signature*, Murry joined her, and it was here in Bandol that he wrote his first critical monograph, a book on Dostoevsky published in 1916 that established his reputation as a literary critic. Previously, Murry had collaborated with S. S. Koteliansky on a translation of Dostoevsky's journals; this process of translation refined Murry's opinions about the author. In his critical study, for instance, Murry observes: 'In *The Journal of an Author* and his letters Dostoevsky returned again and again to the definition of literary genius as the power which should bring "a new word" into literature'.[69] This was the distinguishing feature of Russian literature, Murry argued:

> In Russian literature alone can be heard the trumpet-note of a new word: other writers of other nations do no more than play about the feet of the giants who are Tolstoi and Dostoevsky, for even though the world knows it not, an epoch of the human mind came to an end in them. In them humanity stood on the brink of the revelation of a great secret.[70]

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[66] *Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 317-18.
[67] Murry, 'There Was a Little Man' in *Signature*, 3 (Nov. 1, 1915), p. 21.
[68] Ibid. 22-3.
[69] Murry, *Fyodor Dostoevsky: A Critical Study* (London: Martin Secker, 1916), p. 116.
[70] Ibid. 263.

As his biographer has noted, Murry was less concerned with Dostoevsky as an author than 'as a seeker, who simply made use of the novel as a vehicle for his explorations'.[71] And what Dostoevsky's explorations revealed, Murry proclaimed, was the necessity of the 'dawn of a new consciousness': 'the sudden revelation of a new consciousness, when all eternity shall be gathered into a moment'.[72] Dostoevsky had pushed scepticism to its furthest limits, and had thereby found faith. For Murry, his novels were records of this struggle, a spiritual crisis from which a new dispensation, a new mode of consciousness might emerge; the power of Dostoevsky's novels was in his willingness to confront this crisis with honesty.

As David Goldie has observed, it was the 'intellectual honesty tempered in the fires of angst' Murry perceived in the novels of Dostoevsky that he also found in the works of the French wartime writers.[73] For Murry, the war as described by Henri Barbusse, Jules Romains, and, above all, Georges Duhamel represented a manifestation of the 'new consciousness' that he had recognised in the works of Dostoevsky: 'The strange and splendid honesty of soul which seemed once to be the prerogative of Russia alone is descending upon France also', he wrote.[74] Reviewing Duhamel's *Civilisation* in 1918, for example, Murry celebrated the work for illuminating the fact that 'what has been called the bankruptcy of civilisation is, more exactly, the failure of a mode of consciousness'.[75] Murry's reading of Duhamel shaped his idea that 'modern civilisation' is 'only a complex of material discoveries and nothing more. In other words, it is not a civilisation at all. It is a material condition which has usurped a spiritual title'.[76] Murry also became convinced that the responsibility for maintaining a 'spiritual' civilisation and inaugurating a new mode of consciousness lay with a select minority. Romain's poem *Europe*, for example, is described as 'the tormented cry of the

[71] Lea, p. 49.
[72] Murry, *Fyodor Dostoevsky*, p. 241.
[73] Goldie, p. 32.
[74] Murry, 'The Discovery of Pain' in *Times Literary Supplement*, 803 (June 7, 1917), p. 270.
[75] Murry, 'The Great Hallucination' in *Times Literary Supplement*, 856 (June 13, 1918), p. 274.
[76] Murry, 'The Nature of Civilization' (Jan. 4, 1919) in *The Evolution of an Intellectual* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1920), p. 173.

European soul made articulate': this 'is the soul of civilisation itself', Murry writes, 'a soul maintained in life by the ideal faith of a handful of men'.[77] In an article written at the end of 1918, Murry echoes Mansfield's division between 'the very few' and 'humankind in the mass' when he contrasts the 'minority' with the 'majority'. Murry writes that, during the war:

> Imagination was a reed; if humanity leaned upon it, it broke under the weight of the majority. […] The problem of the minority was to orientate themselves in a new world […] a world which at the first sight seemed cold and alien and hostile, yet afterwards appeared to have at least the attraction that discoveries might be made in it and new lessons learned.[78]

The 'new consciousness' revealed in the writings of Duhamel, then, would provide a way for the minority to orientate themselves and make discoveries in the new post-war world.

Mansfield also shared this enthusiasm for the work of Duhamel. After reading *Civilisation*, she wrote to Murry to say that Duhamel 'is the most sympathetic frenchman I've ever read – I think he is really *great* […] Its his *dignity* of *soul*'.[79] This assessment prefigures Murry's summary in *The Athenaeum* of the spiritual 'gospel' that Duhamel's work imparts:

> We are to cultivate our gardens, to spread the sails of the soul to every authentic air. Every satisfaction that is truly spiritual, whether knowledge, or art, or generosity, or sympathy, is a stage in our spiritual possession of the world.[80]

Duhamel even becomes part of the imaginative world of 'the Heron' that Mansfield and Murry created for each other, with Mansfield describing how 'OUR world and the world of Duhamel is there and waits for us to give a sign'.[81] In describing 'the Beauty of the human soul', moreover, she implores Murry: 'Dont let us *ever* forget – You & I know it – Duhamel

[77] Murry, 'The Poet of the War' in *Athenaeum*, 4647 (May 23, 1919), p. 376.
[78] Murry, 'The Defeat of Imagination' (Dec. 28, 1918) in *The Evolution of an Intellectual*, pp. 164-5.
[79] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 209.
[80] Murry, 'The Gospel of M. Duhamel' in *Athenaeum*, 4641 (April 11, 1919), p. 185.
[81] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 227.

knows it – There will be others – we will build an alter'.[82] Again, therefore, the 'new world' ('OUR world') is both something to be created and discovered. This was the '*critical point of view*' that the work of Duhamel imparted, shaping the language of Mansfield's reviews.[83]

Editorially, *The Athenaeum* was moulded by the belief, derived in part from Duhamel, that it was a moral necessity to restore 'civilisation' from spiritual disintegration. For the first issues of the periodical under his editorship, for example, Murry secured for serialisation Paul Valéry's 'La Crise de l'esprit', translated as 'The Spiritual Crisis'. Alluding to the First World War, Valéry writes that an 'extraordinary terror has run through the spiritual marrow of Europe' and that 'the whole spectrum of intellectual light has displayed its incompatible colours, illuminating with a strange, contradictory gleam the agony of the European soul'.[84] Throughout his own contributions to the periodical, Murry continually echoed this idea of a 'spiritual crisis'. For instance, he observed that the 'most marked characteristic of the present age is a continual disintegration of the consciousness; more or less deliberately in every province of man's spiritual life the reins are being thrown on to the horse's neck'.[85] Like most of his generation, Murry saw the First World War as the decisive event in generating this moral and spiritual confusion:

> One does not need sharp eyes to discern the symptoms of 'war-coarsening' everywhere. The spiritual fibre of the world has been roughened and abraded. The common consciousness of civilization, the sense of distinction between right and wrong, is being worn away.[86]

For Murry, like Valéry, 'the war has been the dividing line between one epoch of the spirit and another'.[87] After the deluge, the task of the writer, artist, and intellectual must be to

[82] Ibid. 244.
[83] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 119.
[84] Paul Valéry, 'The Spiritual Crisis' in *Athenaeum*, 4641 (April 11, 1919), pp. 182-3.
[85] J. M. M. [Murry], 'Poetry and Criticism' in *Athenaeum*, 4691 (March 26, 1920), p. 409.
[86] [Murry] 'Notes and Comments' in *Athenaeum*, 4723 (Nov. 5, 1920), p. 607.
[87] [Murry] 'The New Imperative' in *Athenaeum*, 4641 (April 11, 1919), p. 165.

restore the 'common consciousness of civilization' and the 'spiritual fibre of the world'.[88] In his first leader as editor of *The Athenaeum*, as such, Murry called for the creation of a new 'aristocracy of the spirit' able to 'defend the truth' and 'the universality of the ideal'.[89] In other words, *The Athenaeum* under Murry's editorship was founded upon a call to a minority of artists and intellectuals to oppose the disintegration of the 'worldly world' and corruption of 'humankind in the mass' in order to defend a higher world of 'spirit' and 'truth'.

This was exactly the philosophy upon which *The Signature* had been founded in 1915. Indeed, whilst Murry only accepted one of Lawrence's three submissions to *The Athenaeum*, this submission demonstrates a line of continuity from *The Signature*. Written under the pseudonym of 'Grantorto', 'Whistling of Birds' adopts the same allegorical mode of writing as used by Lawrence in 'The Crown' to describe the same cyclical, seasonal process of destruction and creation. The piece opens with an image of 'innumerable' bird corpses, torn apart by 'invisible beasts of prey' and 'held for many weeks' by the frost of winter.[90] Then, 'quite suddenly', spring arrives and birds begin to sing: 'It was almost a pain to realize, so swiftly, the new world'.[91] Out of the destruction of the war, Lawrence suggests, a 'new world' of creation can come into being. By 1919-20, this idea of the 'new world' had gained common currency, as is demonstrated by a prominent advertisement printed in *The Athenaeum* for a series of school textbooks titled 'The New World' that declares: 'the Old World has died. The New World is not created. There is no hush of perfection in the cool of the evening: instead – to man is given infinite possibilities' (Figure 33).

Mansfield's reviews in *The Athenaeum* clearly respond to these contexts. In one review, for instance, she echoes Lawrence's language of seasonal change and animalistic

[88] Ibid.
[89] [Murry] 'Prologue' in *Athenaeum*, 4640 (April 4, 1919), pp. 130-1.
[90] Grantorto [Lawrence], 'Whistling of Birds' in *Athenaeum*, 4641 (April 11, 1919), p. 167.
[91] Ibid.

awakening to describe the conflict of the First World War: 'We are still very dazed, very dumb and stiff after the four years' winter sleep; the winter has lasted too long; our sleep has been like death. We are dazed creatures, "lizards of convalescence," creeping back into the sun'.[92] In particular, though, Mansfield's reviews intersect in significant ways with Murry's writings in *The Athenaeum*, reflecting the assertion made throughout her letters that 'our minds *cross*. You are feeling the war again just as I am – and just at the same *time*'.[93]

In particular, Mansfield's reviews echo Murry's emphasis on 'truth' and 'honesty', expressing their belief that the war was a 'test' that must be applied to fiction.[94] It was this philosophy that shaped Mansfield's perception of the editorial role she and Murry must play in *The Athenaeum*, in which they must 'stand for something' and 'be honest':

> The change has *come*. Nothing *is* the same. I positively feel one has no right to run a paper without preaching a gospel […] I want to make an appeal to all our generation who do believe that the war has changed everything to come forward and lets start a crusade.[95]

Writing at the beginning of 1921, for example, Mansfield states: 'I believe the only way to *live* as artists under these new conditions in art and life is to put everything to the test for ourselves […] if artists were really thorough & honest they would save the world'.[96]

These ideas provided the motivating impulse behind Mansfield's much-quoted criticism of Woolf's second novel *Night and Day*, in the review titled 'A Ship Comes into the Harbour'. In an article written in 1916, Murry had stated: 'We stand before the need of new artists and the fact of a new world'.[97] It is in these terms that Mansfield's review should be read; it was motivated not by personal or professional jealousy of Woolf, but by a firmly-held

[92] (111) *Writings*, p. 449.
[93] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 62.
[94] Ibid. 107.
[95] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 81; vol. 4, p. 82.
[96] *Letters*, vol. 4, p. 173.
[97] Murry, 'The Sign Seekers' (Oct. 1916) in *The Evolution of an Intellectual*, p. 8.

belief that fiction should register the impact of the war and that writers must look to create new forms able to express this profound change in consciousness. Mansfield writes:

> There is at the present day no form of writing which is more eagerly, more widely discussed than the novel. What is its fate to be? We are told on excellent authority that it is dying; and on equally good authority that only now it begins to live. […] But in all this division and confusion it would seem that opinion is united in declaring this to be an age of experiment. If the novel dies it will be to give way to some new form of expression; if it lives it must accept the fact of a new world.[98]

The problem with Woolf's novel, Mansfield argues, is that it neither embodies a 'new form of expression' (a new word) nor accepts 'the fact of a new world'. In the case of the former, Mansfield argues that *Night and Day* is 'a novel in the tradition of the English novel': with its conventional marriage plot, it might almost be considered 'Miss Austen up-to-date', 'extremely cultivated, distinguished and brilliant, but above all – deliberate'.[99] In the case of the latter, she argues that the novel emerges from the 1914-18 conflict entirely unscathed. Using the extended metaphor of the ship, Mansfield imagines the 'strange sight' of the novel 'sailing into port serene and resolute on a deliberate wind. The strangeness lies in her aloofness, her air of quiet perfection, her lack of any sign that she has made a perilous voyage – the absence of any scars'.[100] The use of personal pronouns to describe the novel/ship has the unfortunate effect of drawing an implicit connection between the author and her work. Justifiably, Woolf took the criticism personally, writing: 'A decorous elderly dullard she describes me; Jane Austen up to date'.[101] Subsequently, this review has invariably been interpreted through the personal terms of a literary rivalry between Mansfield and Woolf.

[98] (170) *Writings*, p. 532.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Woolf, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 1, p. 314.

However, it was Woolf's apparent refusal to 'accept the fact of a new world' that is the focus of Mansfield's criticism. Writing to Murry, she states:

> My private opinion is that it is a lie in the soul. The war has never been, that is what its message is. I don't want G. forbid mobilisation and the violation of Belgium – but the novel can't just leave the war out. There *must* have been a change of heart. It is really fearful to me the 'settling down' of human beings. I feel in the *profoundest* sense that nothing can ever be the same that as artists we are traitors if we feel otherwise: we have to take it into account and find new expressions new moulds for our new thoughts & feelings.[102]

The phrase 'a lie in the soul' was one taken from Murry's own critical writings. As early as February 1914, Murry had written that François Villon 'was a great poet, because he had not the lie in the soul'.[103] Murry developed this idea during the war, noting the 'splendid honesty of soul' evident in the work of the French wartime writers, 'young men of letters whom before the war we knew were not unlike their similar in England, [who] have now with a common impulse of the spirit passed beyond them into another world. In them the war has cauterised the lie in the soul'.[104] When Murry responded to Mansfield's letter about Woolf's novel, he wrote:

> So few people have felt the war; and for us who have, the work of those who have not – if it pretends to be true at all – must sound a lie. And we're not arbitrary in requiring the truth from them. The War *is* Life; not a strange aberration of Life, but a revelation of it. It is a test we must apply; it must be allowed for in any truth that is to touch us.[105]

A common vocabulary emerges here between the writings of Mansfield and Murry: the war is a 'test' that must be applied to literature, which should always aspire towards 'truth'.

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[102] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 82.
[103] Murry, 'François Villon' in *Times Literary Supplement*, 630 (Feb. 12, 1914), p. 70.
[104] Murry, 'The Discovery of Pain' in *Times Literary Supplement*, 803 (June 7, 1917), p. 270.
[105] Murry, *The Letters of John Middleton Murry to Katherine Mansfield*, p. 211.

Throughout her reviews, Mansfield continually asserts that the task of the author is 'to keep faith with Truth' and that 'the novel which is not an attempt at nothing short of Truth is doomed':

> To be fobbed off, at the last, with something which we feel to be less true than the author knew it to be, challenges the importance of the whole art of writing, and instead of enlarging the bounds of our experience, it leaves them where they are.[106]

A writer such as H. M. Tomlinson impresses Mansfield because he 'has no need to exaggerate or heighten his effects. One is content to believe that what he tells you happened to him and it was the important thing; it was the spiritual truth which was revealed'.[107] This search for 'spiritual truth' is contextualised against the war in Mansfield's reviews:

> To say that the war has changed our attitude to life is not a very useful thing to say, neither is it wholly true. But what it has done is to fix for ever in our minds the distinction between what is a fashion and what is permanent. In spite of all the nonsense that is admired and the rubbish that is extolled we do perceive a striving after something nearer the truth, something more deeply true among a few writers to-day.[108]

It is this critical emphasis on *permanence* that reflects the notion of a 'new world' promoted since the days of *The Signature*: a higher, permanent world of 'pure reality', 'eternal spirit' and 'living truth' opposed to the contingent 'worldly world' of 'disintegration'.

This opposition is reflected in the contrast Mansfield establishes in her letters between *The Athenaeum* and the newspaper press. In 1918, Mansfield writes that the newspaper press is an 'appalling abyss of vulgarity'.[109] After the war, she writes to Morrell:

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[106] (260 and 251) *Writings*, pp. 694; 668.
[107] (112) *Writings*, p. 452.
[108] (247) *Writings*, p. 663.
[109] *Letters*, vol. 2, pp. 46; 123.

> [W]hy is the world so ugly – so corrupt and *stupid*. When I heard the drunks passing the house on Monday night, singing the good old pre-war drunken rubbish, I felt cold with horror. THEY are not changed – & then the loathsome press about Germany's cry for food […] How horrid they are *not* to – why don't they fly at each other kiss & cry & share everything.[110]

In 1920, likewise, Mansfield describes the press as 'sordid; theres no other word for it'.[111] Lawrence also articulated his revulsion towards the press in his novel of 1923, *Kangaroo*, describing 'the genuine debasement' and 'unspeakable baseness of the press and the public voice, the reign of that bloated ignominy, *John Bull*'.[112] As Goldie has argued, such revulsion reflects the post-war cultural climate in which *The Athenaeum* under Murry's editorship was founded, a climate in which many commentators were arguing 'that the written word, in all its forms, had not come out of the war entirely untarnished; that, in fact, the written word, like the truth it purported to convey, had become one of the prime casualties of total war'.[113] Newspaper slogans and reductive distortions of events during wartime had unsettled public trust in the press. The demand for the 'truth' of a 'new word' in literature, repeatedly articulated in Mansfield's reviews for *The Athenaeum*, was a response to these historical contexts of print journalism during and immediately after the war.

The revulsion shown by Mansfield towards the press was coupled with her highly negative attitude towards contemporary literary criticism. In 1918, she writes: 'oh! how *ignorant* these reviewers are' and notes 'how shockingly ill the novels are reviewed'.[114] In particular, Mansfield opposed *The Athenaeum* to what she believed was 'the *disgraceful* dishonesty' and 'filthy scandal' of the reviews in the *Times Literary Supplement*.[115] This view reflected the terms of a continued debate within *The Athenaeum* about the state of

[110] Ibid. 291.
[111] *Letters*, vol. 4, p. 116.
[112] Lawrence, *Kangaroo* (London: Heinemann, 1955), p. 220.
[113] Goldie, p. 18.
[114] *Letters*, vol. 2, pp. 88; 124.
[115] *Letters*, vol. 3, pp. 80-1; vol. 4, p. 73.

contemporary literary criticism. In an article titled 'Critical Interest', for instance, Murry writes: 'In the phrase "critical interest," as we use it, the emphasis is upon the adjective, for in our own opinion the present age is in danger of become definitely uncritical'.[116] Mansfield echoed this idea in her own reviews, imploring Dorothy Easton, for example, 'in these uncritical days, to treat herself with the utmost severity'.[117] Eliot, likewise, unequivocally declares in *The Athenaeum* that 'modern criticism is degenerate' and 'the amount of good literary criticism in English is negligible'.[118] Similarly, Frank Swinnerton argues that the convention of reviewing is 'too well-established' and produces 'stumbling criticism'.[119] Like the reaction to the 'vulgarity' of the press at large, these opinions in *The Athenaeum* about contemporary literary criticism were shaped in response to the war. In an unsigned article, for instance, A. de Sélincourt observed: 'We have bitter need at the present time for a reconsideration of critical principles; for a non-partisan criticism to disperse the miasma of name-worship and of chaotic emotionalism, which are the part-legacy of the war'.[120]

Under Murry's editorship, *The Athenaeum* looked to counter the 'debasement' of the 'word' within the press at large and, specifically, the 'dishonesty' of other literary journals; contributors to the periodical did this by promoting critical principles of permanence, such as 'truth', 'value', and 'standards'. If Murry argued that the 'most marked characteristic of the present age is a continual disintegration', then the rehabilitation of 'immutable standards' in literary criticism would provide constancy and integrity.[121] Mansfield clearly subscribed to this idea, invoking a post-war *Zeitgeist* to describe the unprecedented difficulties faced by the literary critic: 'the spirit of the age is against us; it is an uneasy, disintegrating, experimental

[116] M. [Murry], 'Critical Interest' in *Athenaeum*, 4686 (Feb. 20, 1920), p. 233.
[117] (219) *Review*, p. 622.
[118] T. S. Eliot, 'The Perfect Critic' in *Athenaeum*, 4706 (July 9, 1920), p. 40; T. S. E. [Eliot], 'Criticism in England' in *Athenaeum*, 4650 (June 13, 1919), p. 456.
[119] Frank Swinnerton, 'The Difficulties of Criticism' in *Athenaeum*, 4699 (May 21, 1920), p. 662.
[120] [A. de Sélincourt], 'Common-Sense Criticism' in *Athenaeum*, 4704 (June 25, 1920), p. 827.
[121] M. [Murry], 'The False Dawn' in *Athenaeum*, 4680 (Jan. 9, 1920), p. 37.

spirit'.[122] In *The Athenaeum*, Murry argued that 'a standard should be once more created and applied'.[123] Moreover, in dialogue with an essay by Eliot, and highlighting synergies with Eliot's ideas at this time, Murry argued that the 'function of true criticism is to establish a definite hierarchy among the great artists of the past, as well as to test the production of the present'.[124] Murry argued that 'the first essential is to apply the corrective of disinterested criticism to that capacity for self-deception which seems to have become infinite under the stress of war'; only then can an 'intellectual renascence' begin.[125]

The Athenaeum promoted the idea that a rehabilitated 'criticism' would pave the way for a 'renascence' of literary innovation. Indeed, Murry understands the widespread interest in 'the present condition of literary criticism' as 'symptomatic of a general hesitancy and expectation' in the contemporary 'world of letters', in which everything is 'up in the air, volatile and uncrystallised': before the war, he writes, 'one had a tolerable certainty that the new star, if the new star was to appear, would burst upon our vision in the shape of a novel'; '[t]o-day we feel it might be anything' and that 'it has no predetermined form'.[126] As such, 'if the *lusus naturae*, the writer of genius, were to appear, there ought to be a person or an organization capable of recognizing him, however unexpected': in other words, there ought to be critics receptive to the 'new' and unforeseen.[127] Similarly, Mansfield observes that the 'new word' will be of indeterminate form, most likely 'in prose' but 'a great deal shorter than a novel' and 'neither a short story, nor a sketch, nor an impression, nor a tale'.[128] Elsewhere, moreover, Mansfield echoes the language used by Murry when she writes: 'We are told also that we are on the eve of a literary renascence. True, no star has been seen in the sky, but the

[122] (148) *Writings*, p. 493.
[123] J. M. M. [Murry], 'Poetry and Criticism' in *Athenaeum*, 4691 (March 26, 1920), p. 408.
[124] Murry, 'The Function of Criticism' in *Times Literary Supplement*, 956 (May 13, 1920), p. 290.
[125] Murry, 'The False Dawn', p. 38.
[126] Murry, 'The Function of Criticism', p. 289.
[127] Ibid.
[128] (219) *Writings*, p. 620.

roads are thronged with shepherds. This is the moment of attention'.[129] Mansfield viewed her critical writings within this context: she considered her work as a reviewer to be part of this vital post-war project of rehabilitating critical standards in anticipation of the 'new word'.

Throughout her reviews for *The Athenaeum*, Mansfield imagines what the 'new word' might look like by contrasting it with what she terms the 'pastime novel'. Again reflecting the distinction between a select 'minority' and the public 'majority', she writes: 'Reading, for the great majority – for the reading public – is not a passion but a pastime, and writing, for the vast number of modern authors, is a pastime and not a passion'.[130] *Hope Trueblood* by Patience Worth is 'almost too good an example of the pastime novel'.[131] Similarly, *The Ancient Allan* by Rider Haggard is described as a 'variety of the pastime novel'.[132] What defines the 'pastime novel' is the want of 'truth'. Mansfield writes: 'It is not as though the pastime novel were out to tell the truth and nothing but the truth'.[133] By mid-1920, moreover, Mansfield observes that 'a long acquaintance with pastime novels forces us to make the distinction between amusement and distraction': 'By far the greatest number of them aim at nothing more positive than a kind of mental knitting – the mind of the reader is grown so familiar with the pattern that the least possible effort is demanded of it'.[134] Importantly, Mansfield contrasts the novel of 'distraction' and 'entertainment' with the novel of *exploration*: 'the great writers of the past have not been "entertainers". They have been seekers, explorers, thinkers. It has been their aim to reveal a little of the mystery of life'.[135]

This distinction between the plot-driven 'pastime novel' and the undiscovered medium of a 'new word' was echoed in *The Athenaeum* by J. W. N. Sullivan, a prolific

[129] (205) *Writings*, p. 599.
[130] (109) *Writings*, p. 445.
[131] Ibid.
[132] (192) *Writings*, p. 576.
[133] (252) *Writings*, p. 670.
[134] (194) *Writings*, pp. 578-9.
[135] (135) *Writings*, p. 479.

contributor to the periodical and, together with Aldous Huxley, an assistant editor to Murry. Sullivan argues that literature must possess 'broad, robust qualities […] if it is to be regarded by serious men as anything more than a *pastime*': 'literature which no longer gives adequate expression to the soul of man ranks with the other amusements with which we stuff our leisure hours' (my emphasis).[136] As well as echoing Mansfield's idea of the 'pastime novel', Sullivan also employs geographical metaphors of exploration to describe the new possibilities before the artist. In an article titled 'Dissolving Views', for instance, Sullivan argues that it was possible, before the war, 'with the sense of being fairly accurate, [to] give the latitude and longitude of everything on our map'; in 'the intervening years we have watched the old picture becoming more and more blurred and the new one gradually taking shape'.[137] Now that certainties of morality, religion, and nationality have dissolved, Sullivan argues, 'the work now being done in the arts is chiefly valuable in its negative aspect' only:

> The universe must be discovered over again. If art is to survive it must show itself worthy to rank with science; it must be as adequate, in its own way, as is science. To do that, it must become, to an unprecedented degree, profound and comprehensive, for it is living in a world which is unprecedently wide and deep. What the new world will be like we do not know, but it is already apparent that it will be a bigger thing altogether than the pre-war world.[138]

In this 'new world', the artist 'must consult the compass, find out where he is and very earnestly and sincerely try to discover where he wants to go'.[139] What Sullivan's articles show is that the language of geographical 'exploration' and 'discovery' in *The Athenaeum* reflected the contemporary idea of a 'new world': a world in which the artist must try to discover direction without reverting to forms that are 'only too definite and circumscribed'.[140]

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[136] [J. W. N. Sullivan] 'Science and Literature' in *Athenaeum*, 4650 (June 13, 1919), p. 464.
[137] S. [Sullivan], 'Dissolving Views' in *Athenaeum*, 4677 (Dec. 19, 1919), p. 1361.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid. 1362.
[140] Ibid. 1361.

Similarly, Mansfield's reviews consistently use geographical metaphors of exploration and discovery in order to formulate a critical response to contemporary writing and suggest new directions for writers hoping to make their work adequate to a new post-war world. For instance, she celebrates the feeling of excitement anticipating exploration, when we long 'to put ourselves to the test, to lose ourselves in other countries, other lives, to give what we have in exchange for what we want, and thus to acquire strange unfamiliar treasure'.[141] Linking this feeling to the novel form, she writes:

> There must be the same setting out upon a voyage of discovery (but through unknown seas instead of charted waters), the same difficulties and dangers must be encountered, and there must be an ever-increasing sense of the greatness of the adventure and an ever more passionate desire to possess and explore the mysterious country.[142]

Indeed, the metaphor of the sea voyage is constant throughout Mansfield's critical writings, as is demonstrated in the review of *Night and Day*, in which the 'harbour' signifies safety, caution, and a refusal to embrace adventure. For instance, Mansfield writes that 'part of [the] "appeal"' of 'the sweetly pretty novel' is that 'you are never out of sight of the happy ending from the very first page': 'Your faith is tried, but not unduly tried; the boat may rock a little and a dash or two of spray come over, but you are never out of harbour – never so much as turned towards the open sea'.[143] Similarly, Mansfield observes of Frank Swinnerton's novel *September*: 'What has happened to Marion, to Nigel, Cherry and Howard? Nothing. They have weathered the storm, and dawn finds them back again in the same harbour from which they put out – none the worse or the better for their mock voyage'.[144] Writing to Morrell about her review of Joseph Hergesheimer's *Java Head*, likewise, Mansfield notes in exasperation: 'one always seems to arrive at the same conclusion – nothing goes deep enough

[141] (225) *Writings*, p. 630.
[142] (128) *Writings*, p. 467.
[143] (145) *Writings*, p. 489.
[144] (161) *Writings*, p. 516.

– the *risk* has not been taken – Whenever the crisis is reached they decide to wait until the sea is calmer'.[145] In Mansfield's reviews, the harbour provides a visual image for forms that are too definite and circumscribed: by contrast, the open sea signifies the 'risk' of exploration.

Throughout her reviews, Mansfield also tends to equate an author's 'mind' with an image of landscape. In her very first review, for example, she describes *The Tunnel* as indicative of 'the clear, shadowless country' of Dorothy Richardson's 'mind'.[146] Similarly, she summarises *The Arrow of Gold* as an 'example of Mr. Conrad is search of himself, Mr. Conrad, a pioneer, surveying the rich untravelled forest landscape of his mind': 'When we think of his fine economy of expression, his spare use of gesture, his power of conveying the mystery of another's being' evident in his earlier novels, Mansfield writes, 'we are amazed to think of the effort it has cost him to clear that wild luxurious country and to build thereupon his dignified stronghold'.[147] Instead, the courageous author must be at 'great pains to discover a path that is less trodden than the familiar, popular route'.[148] There emerges in Mansfield's critical writings, as such, a distinction between the familiar, cultivated landscape and 'wildness'. In her review of Edith Wharton's *The Age of Innocence*, for example, Mansfield entreats the author to depict 'a little wildness, a dark place or two in the soul'.[149] Mansfield develops this idea in a notebook extract that echoes the language of her review of *Night and Day*, which also references the 'cultivated' mind of the author:

> [The] cultivated mind doesn't really attract me. I admire it […] but it leaves me cold. After all, the adventure is over. There is now nothing to do but to trim & to lop and to keep back – all faintly depressing labours. No, no the mind I love must have wild places […] <u>real</u> hiding

[145] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 326.
[146] (109) *Writings*, p. 446.
[147] (148) *Writings*, p. 495.
[148] (209) *Writings*, p. 606.
[149] (265) *Writings*, p. 705.

> places, not artificial ones – not gazebos and mazes. And I have never yet met the cultivated mind that has not had its shrubberies. I loathe & detest shrubberies.[150]

Reviewing E. M. Forster's short story collection *The Story of the Siren*, likewise, Mansfield asks: 'How is it that the writer is content to do less than explore his own delectable country?'[151] Forster is too careful, so that his prose resembles the cultivated shrubbery; he is too reluctant to 'commit himself wholly', so that there 'is a certain leisureliness' about his style: 'By letting himself be borne along, by welcoming any number of diversions, he can still appear to be a stranger, a wanderer, within the boundaries of his own country, and so escape from any declaration of allegiance'.[152] Again, then, Mansfield contrasts leisurely writing confined to 'boundaries' (the 'pastime') with committed, wild 'exploration'. The metaphor of the mind as a 'country' or 'landscape' was a common one among Mansfield's contemporaries. In 1922, for example, Murry published a collection of essays titled *Countries of the Mind*.[153] In Mansfield's reviews, this metaphor was employed to convey the idea that writers should be adventurous and take risks by exploring new forms of expression.

Mansfield's emphasis on exploration throughout her reviews often provides a way for her to contrast staid English literature with invigorating foreign influences. Mansfield praises Knut Hamsun's *Growth of the Soil*, for example, as 'one of those few novels in which we seem to escape from ourselves and to take an invisible part. We suddenly find to our joy that […] the author's country is ours'.[154] Considering the novels of Louis Couperus, Mansfield evokes the 'Low Countries' of the author's birth when she observes:

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[150] *Notebooks*, vol. 2, p. 163.
[151] (234) *Writings*, p. 646.
[152] Ibid. 646-7.
[153] Similarly, when Woolf read Mansfield's story 'Bliss' in *The English Review*, she wrote: 'her mind is a very thin soil, laid an inch or two deep upon very barren rock. […] she is content with superficial smartness; & the whole conception is poor, cheap, not the vision, however imperfect, of an interesting mind' (*The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 1, p. 179).
[154] (215) *Writings*, p. 614.

> There is an angle from which we seem to see them as the strangest landscapes, small, low-lying country swept continually by immense storms of wind and rain, with dark menacing clouds for ever pulling over and casting a weighty shadow that lifts and drifts away only to fall again.[155]

Reviewing a novel by the Japanese author Futabatei, likewise, Mansfield writes: 'after a long rolling on the heavy seas of our modern novels the critic feels as though he had stepped into a blue paper boat and was sailing among islands whose flowery branches overhang the water'.[156] Mansfield believed that 'the new novel' would perhaps be 'something brought from a far country, something never dreamed of, something new, marvellous, dazzling – changing the whole of life'.[157] In this preference for foreign literature, Mansfield responds to Sullivan's notion that a literature of the 'new world' must be 'profound and comprehensive, for it is living in a world which is unprecedently wide and deep'.

This preference is reflected in the comparisons Mansfield consistently makes between contemporary English writing and Russian literature. Reviewing Swinnerton's *September*, for instance, Mansfield asks: 'what do we mean exactly by that word "expression"? Can we afford to leave it out of a page, of a paragraph – after Tchehov?'[158] Russian literature and culture, in particular, was discussed in *The Athenaeum* with a view to fostering greater 'internationalism'; this was seen as a pressing need following the international conflagration of the First World War and also Russia's isolationism following the 1917 revolution. In an article titled 'True Internationalism', for instance, Murry observed:

> As, day by day, it becomes more evident that a political internationalism will be for many years to come a vain mirage, the need to foster intellectual internationalism grows more

[155] (217) *Writings*, p. 618.
[156] (207) *Writings*, p. 604.
[157] (251) *Writings*, p. 667.
[158] (161) *Writings*, p. 516.

> urgent. If we cannot at this stage of our spiritual development love our rival nations, let us at least try to understand them.[159]

Translations from Russian made by Koteliansky were integral to this project.[160] When Koteliansky translated for *The Athenaeum* Maxim Gorky's essay 'Literature and Present-Day Russia' (the preface to the first catalogue of the 'World Literature' book series), Murry provided an editorial note in which he referenced the Russian Revolution, describing the essay as 'a literary document of the first importance, appearing as it does at a time when the necessity of resuming intellectual relations with Russia is felt to be increasingly urgent'.[161] In this essay, Gorky argued that the 'domain of literary creation is the International of the spirit' and that literature is 'the all-seeing eye of the world, whose glance penetrates into the deepest recesses of the human spirit'.[162] The emphasis on Russian literature throughout *The Athenaeum*, as such, served to underline this idea of a spiritual internationalism.

It was in this context that Mansfield produced co-translations of writings by Chekhov with Koteliansky for publication in *The Athenaeum*. From April to October 1919, the two writers contributed thirteen sets of translations of Chekhov's letters to *The Athenaeum*, with 1-4 letters in each contribution; and in April 1920, they contributed extracts from Chekhov's diaries. In July 1919, considering publishing these translations in book form, Mansfield wrote to Koteliansky, describing Chekhov's work by again using the metaphor of the sea voyage: 'here is this treasure – at the wharf only not unloaded'.[163] Significantly, when writing about the letters, Mansfield links Chekhov's writings to a 'new world' of discovery:

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[159] [Murry], 'True Internationalism' in *Athenaeum*, 4716 (Sept. 17, 1920), p. 365.
[160] In addition to the translations produced in collaboration with Mansfield, Koteliansky also translated three stories by Chekhov that were published in *The Athenaeum* ('At the Cemetery', 'At the Post-Office', and 'A Moscow Hamlet'), as well as authorised translations of Leo Shestov's philosophy ('The Russian Spirit' and 'Chapters from a Book') and Maxim Gorky's 'Literature and Present-Day Russia'.
[161] [Murry], 'Editorial Note' in *Athenaeum*, 4701 (June 4, 1920), p. 748.
[162] Maxim Gorky, 'Literature and Present-Day Russia' (II.) in *Athenaeum*, 4702 (June 11, 1920), p. 781; 'Literature and Present-Day Russia' in *Athenaeum*, 4701 (June 4, 1920), p. 748.
[163] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 341.

> Wonderful they are. The last one – the one to Souverin about the duty of the artist to *put* the "question" – not to solve it but so to put it that one is completely satisfied seems to me one of the most valuable things I have ever read. It opens – it discovers rather, a new world.[164]

And, writing to Murry in October 1919, Mansfield notes: 'We could not, knowing what we know belong to others who know not. If I can only *convey* this difference this vision of the world as we see it: Tchekhov saw it, too, and so I think did Keats'.[165] The 'new world' is again envisaged as a world apart, a world of the minority, waiting to be discovered.

In her reviews for *The Athenaeum*, Mansfield asks of each author: 'were there not mysterious moments when you felt that naught save a new world could contain your creations?'[166] The concepts of a 'new world' and 'new word' continually intersect throughout Mansfield's critical writings: metaphors of geographical exploration and discovery figure the belief that writers must seek to break the boundaries of 'definite and circumscribed' literary forms in order to express new thoughts and feelings. As has been examined in this section of the chapter, such metaphors simultaneously reflect a contemporary intellectual response to the 'spiritual crisis' of the First World War. By postulating the idea of a 'new world' waiting to be discovered, contributors to *The Athenaeum* looked to counter the 'disintegration' and 'corruption' of the 'worldly world' and 'humankind in the mass': the idea of a 'world' apart provided a metaphor for postulating a post-war project of spiritual rejuvenation among a select, aristocratic minority of the 'very few'. As a metaphor for the undiscovered 'new word' of truth and honesty, in particular, the concept of the 'new world' was formulated in direct response to a perceived 'debasement' of the 'word' throughout the newspaper press and among other literary journals during and immediately following the war. This is highlighted in a letter Mansfield wrote to Murry in June 1918:

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[164] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 324.
[165] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 47.
[166] (251) *Writings*, p. 667.

> You will not always be a "failure" even where the world is concerned, because we'll change the world. Fancy believing that & feeling as I do – all this hatred and contempt for human beings – all this desire to cut absolutely off from them. And of course I dont mean that well change the Daily Mirror world – but A world – OUR world and the world of Duhamel is there and waits for us to give a sign. I believe that, profoundly. […] Bogey, my whole soul waits for the time when you and I shall be withdrawn from everybody – when we shall go into our own undiscovered darling country and dwell therein.[167]

First articulated in the famous notebook entries Mansfield made in Bandol in 1916, the idea of an 'undiscovered country' not only echoed a spatial vocabulary of empire, therefore, but also intersected with a contemporary cultural discourse of post-war rehabilitation. Positioned within this context, the recurring metaphors in Mansfield's reviews of turning towards the open sea or exploring the wild landscape beyond the well-trodden path gesture towards the idea that contemporary literature must develop new forms of expression if it is to be adequate to the new modes of experience in a post-war world.

Between Two Worlds

As well as reflecting an intellectual response to the First World War, the contrast established across *The Athenaeum* between the 'old world' (the outer 'worldly world') and a 'new world' waiting to be discovered (the inner 'spiritual' world) also shaped conceptual ideas of literary impressionism in Mansfield's reviews. This section of the chapter examines the ways in which Mansfield envisaged the 'new word' as mediating between a series of oppositions, exemplified by the material 'old world' and spiritual 'new world', such as object and subject,

[167] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 227.

intellect and emotion, exteriority and inner life. Whilst these dialectics clearly responded to other contributions across *The Athenaeum*, Mansfield's reviews were positioned in dialogue with Virginia Woolf's critical writings in particular.[168] This section of the chapter traces this dialogue between the writings of Mansfield and Woolf, arguing that each writer influenced the other as they both worked to formulate critical concepts of literary impressionism.

Critics regularly note that the term 'literary impressionism' is one of particular 'vagueness' that perhaps only expresses a general 'tendency' across a wide range of literary works from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[169] Nevertheless, the term has proved incredibly useful in recent criticism to describe fiction that rejects realism and pre-empts modernism, or intervenes between romantic unities and modernist fragmentation. H. Peter Stowell, for instance, has described literary impressionism as 'the incipient moment of modernism': impressionist fiction anticipated some of the most recognisable features of literary modernism, he argues, such as 'the primacy of phenomenological perception, the atomization of a subjectively perceived reality, [and] the acceptance of chance in a world so complex and unknowable as to render causality impotent'.[170] In general, we may identify fiction as 'impressionist' when the writer subordinates plot in favour of suggesting atmosphere and mood, finds 'truth' in appearances, fuses subject and object, and focuses on fragmentary and privileged 'moments'. As well as Julia van Gunsteren's study of Mansfield's 'literary impressionism', the term has also been applied to writers as diverse as Chekhov, Henry James, Walter Pater, Flaubert, Joseph Conrad, Stephen Crane, E. M. Forster, Ford Madox Ford, and Jean Rhys.[171]

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[168] In 1918, Woolf's Hogarth Press had published Mansfield's *Prelude*.
[169] Chris Baldick, 'Impressionism' in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 108.
[170] H. Peter Stowell, *Literary Impressionism, James and Chekhov* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980), pp. 9; 14-15.
[171] See Maria Elisabeth Kronegger, *Literary Impressionism* (New Haven: College and University Press, 1973); Ian Watt, *Conrad in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); James Nagel,

Despite this wide-ranging scholarly activity, as Jesse Matz observes, 'doubt about literary Impressionism persists'.[172] The nature of the 'impression' varies across writings by all the above authors, so that 'impressionism' seems to resist any definitive classification. Matz asks, however: 'what if Impressionism's tendency toward definitional vagueness is itself definitive?'[173] Just as impressions fall somewhere between thought and sense, the personal and universal, Matz argues that literary impressionism occupies a middle ground between various oppositions, and that this 'in-betweenness is essential'.[174] Crucially, impressionism 'promises *mediation*': between intellect and emotion, ideas and sensations, surface appearances and deep knowledge, object and subject, outer world and inner life.[175] Different writers formulated these dialectics in different ways, yet impressionist fiction is unified as a genre by this mediating impulse. Whilst van Gunsteren has outlined in brief how Mansfield's reviews promoted ideas of literary impressionism, what has not been examined in any detail is the way in which these concepts were founded upon and structured by a fundamental *mediation* between the 'inner' and 'outer' worlds. As examined in the previous section of the chapter, this dialectic was conditioned by the contexts of periodical culture; by the emphasis across *The Athenaeum* on establishing a 'new world' of spiritual rejuvenation.

Within the week following the publication of the first issue of *The Athenaeum* under Murry's editorship, Woolf's article 'Modern Novels' was printed in the *Times Literary Supplement*. Mansfield wrote to Woolf, relating her enthusiasm for this essay:

Stephen Crane and Literary Impressionism (Penn State University Press, 1980); Stowell, *Literary Impressionism, James and Chekhov*; James J. Kirschke, *Henry James and Impressionism* (New York: Whitson, 1981); Paul Armstrong, *The Challenge of Bewilderment: Understanding and Representation in James, Conrad, and Ford* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); Juliva van Gunsteren, *Katherine Mansfield and Literary Impressionism* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1990); and Todd K. Bender, *Literary Impressionism in Jean Rhys, Ford Madox Ford, Joseph Conrad, and Charlotte Brontë* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998); John G. Peters, *Conrad and Impressionism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Nadezhda Katyk-Lewis, *Truth of a Moment, the Impressionism of Chekhov* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Pegasus, 2015).

[172] Jesse Matz, *Literary Impressionism and Modernist Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 14.

[173] Ibid. 15.

[174] Ibid. 16.

[175] Ibid. 17.

> Virginia, I have read your article on Modern Novels. You write so *damned* well, so *devilish* well. There are these little others, you know, dodging & stumbling along, taking a sniff here and a stare there […] I read & I think "*How* she beats them – [176]

'Modern Novels' is the essay in which Woolf first speaks of 'impressions'. In contrasting 'modern fiction' with the 'old', she begins by stating that her quarrel is not with the 'classics' (Fielding, Thackeray, Jane Austen) but with the 'materialists' (H. G. Wells, Arnold Bennett, John Galsworthy).[177] Each of these novelists has been too concerned with 'the solidity of his fabric' and, as such, 'more often misses than secures the thing we seek': 'Whether we call it life or spirit, truth or reality, this, the essential thing, has moved off, or on, and refuses to be contained any longer in such ill-fitting vestments'.[178] Furthermore, the 'mediocrity of most novels seems to arise from a conviction on the part of the writer' that 'his duty to the public' is to provide a formulaic 'plot' above all else.[179] Instead, Woolf argues, modern fiction must attempt to register the 'vague general confusion' of modern experience:

> The mind, exposed to the ordinary course of life, receives upon its surface a myriad of impressions – trivial, fantastic, evanescent, or engraved with the sharpness of steel. From all sides they come, an incessant shower of innumerable atoms, composing in their sum what we might venture to call life itself.[180]

The task of the modern novelist is to attempt to render these 'impressions' and to convey 'the vision in our minds'.[181] To define this task further, Woolf turns to Joyce: 'In contrast to those whom we have called materialists Mr. Joyce is spiritual' because he is 'concerned at all costs to reveal the flickerings of that innermost flame which flashes its myriad message through the

[176] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 311.
[177] Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, ed. by Andrew McNeillie (London: Hogarth Press, 1988), pp. 30-2.
[178] Ibid. 32-3.
[179] Ibid. 33.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Ibid.

brain'.[182] Woolf argues, however, that Joyce's writing is so 'centred in a self' that it never 'reaches out or embraces or comprehends what is outside and beyond'.[183] As such, Woolf situates modern impressionist fiction in the middle ground between the lifeless realism of Bennett (the solid) and the solipsistic idealism of Joyce (the spiritual): as Matz has argued, she attempts to formulate 'a synthetic model' which 'thrives on the thrill of [the] dialectic'.[184]

Woolf finds this synthesis in the works of the Russian writers: in particular, Chekhov. The essential quality of Russian literature, Woolf argues, is something between spirit and matter, its 'heart'.[185] The Russians convey 'sympathy for the sufferings of others, love towards them': unlike the idealism of Joyce, the Russians thus reach 'outside and beyond' the self, achieving a particular universality and comprehensiveness of 'sympathy'.[186] Chekhov, for instance, 'leaves us with the suggestion that the strange chords he has struck sound on and on' and that 'there is perhaps no answer to the questions which [he] raises'.[187] As such, if the 'Russian mind' is 'comprehensive and compassionate' it is also defined by its 'inconclusiveness': 'It is the sense that there is no answer, that if honestly examined life presents question after question which must be left to sound on and on'.[188] As Matz argues, Woolf suggests that modern fiction derives its vitality from 'asking a dialectical series of questions' that are never resolved; rejecting the materialism of realist fiction, she also suggests that the 'impressions' of modern fiction must mediate between the inner self and the 'outside and beyond' and that this mediation can never be resolved.[189]

Mansfield perhaps had 'Modern Novels' in mind when she wrote to Woolf at the end of May 1919, describing the translation of a letter by Chekhov that she had made with

[182] Ibid. 34.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Matz, p. 177.
[185] Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, p. 35.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid. 36.
[189] Matz, p. 178.

Koteliansky that was about to be printed in *The Athenaeum*. Echoing Woolf's emphasis on the unresolved 'question' of Russian literature, Mansfield writes:

> Tchekhov has a very interesting letter published in next week's A… what the writer does is not so much to *solve* the question but to *put* the question. There must be the question put. That seems to me a very nice dividing line between the true & the false writer – Come & talk it over with me.[190]

Throughout their letters and diaries, Mansfield and Woolf continually refer to the importance of their 'talk' with each other. After one of their first meetings together, for example, Mansfield wrote to Woolf:

> It was good to have time to talk to you. We have got the same job, Virginia & it is really very curious & thrilling that we should both, quite apart from each other, be after so very nearly the same thing.[191]

Throughout the autumn and winter of 1918, Mansfield and Woolf met weekly. Whilst these visits become irregular throughout 1919 and 1920, interrupted by Mansfield's worsening health, Woolf wrote of the 'common certain understanding between us – a queer sense of being "like" […] I can talk straight out to her'.[192] In June 1920, they had '2 hours priceless talk – priceless in the sense that to no one else can I talk in the same disembodied way about writing': 'exalted talk' and 'intercourse' that Woolf describes as 'more fundamental than many better established ones'.[193] Talking to Mansfield, Woolf experiences 'the queerest sense of echo coming back to me from her mind the second after I've spoken'.[194] In December 1920, Mansfield writes to Woolf: 'You are the only woman with whom I long to

[190] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 320.
[191] *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 327.
[192] Woolf, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 2, ed. by Anne Olivier Bell (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), p. 45.
[193] Ibid. 45-6.
[194] Ibid. 61.

talk *work*. There will never be another'.[195] And after Mansfield's death in 1923, it is her 'talk' that Woolf misses: 'there are things about writing I think of & want to tell Katherine'.[196]

In the critical writings that they produced throughout 1919 and 1920, this section of the chapter argues, Mansfield and Woolf established a dialogue in print, each echoing the terms of debate and conceptual ideas advanced in the literary reviews written by the other. This dialogue and 'talk' exemplifies the 'conversational model for modernism' that Churchill and McKible suggest early twentieth-century periodicals looked to enact.[197] In certain instances, this dialogue can be traced in direct echoes. Reviewing Joseph Hergesheimer's novel *Linda Condon* in July 1920, for instance, Woolf observes how the novelist's 'sense of beauty is exceptionally lusty'.[198] Mansfield reiterates this when she writes: 'If a novel is to have a central idea we imagine that central idea as a lusty growing stem from which the branches spring clothed with leaves'.[199] Similarly, both reviewers highlight the 'difficult experiment' that the novel fails to accomplish.[200] In other instances, the diaries and letters of each writer provide evidence of how their 'talk' influenced their reviewing. After Woolf wrote a review of Richardson's novel *The Tunnel*, for instance, she records in her diary visiting Mansfield: 'At once she flung down her pen & plunged, as if we'd been parted for 10 minutes, into the question of Dorothy Richardson; & so on with the greatest freedom & animation on both sides'.[201] Two weeks later, Mansfield's review of *The Tunnel* was printed in *The Athenaeum*, echoing the emphasis on 'surface' impressions in Woolf's review.[202] In June 1919, Mansfield and Woolf met to discuss the centenary of George Eliot's birth, a conversation that must have shaped Mansfield's desire to write the leader in *The Athenaeum*

[195] *Letters*, vol. 4, p. 154.
[196] Woolf, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 2, p. 227.
[197] Suzanne W. Churchill and Adam McKible, 'Introduction' in *Little Magazines and Modernism: New Approaches*, ed. by Churchill and McKible (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 12-13.
[198] Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, p. 233.
[199] (228) *Writings*, p. 636.
[200] Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, p. 234.
[201] Woolf, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 1, p. 257.
[202] Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, p. 11.

and probably influenced the review Woolf published in November. And, in August 1920, Woolf records a conversation in her diary in which Mansfield told her: 'one ought to merge into things'.[203] Mansfield's reviews speak to Woolf's writings, and vice versa, as is highlighted by this conversation about the importance of merging the subject and object.

Woolf's 'Modern Novels' highlights how the 'basic stylistic impulse' of literary impressionism, as Stowell defines it, is 'the shift from a description of concrete and tangible reality to a *rendering* of apperception' which 'recreates the perceived mood and atmosphere surrounding concrete objects':

> Crucial to the impressionist vision is the relationship of subject to object, "inner ego to outer world," consciousness to external reality. Naturalists and realists believed the empirical method could only focus on objectified exterior reality; symbolists and expressionists concentrated on a solipsistically encapsuled inner world. The impressionists, however, sensed, along with the phenomenologists, that "consciousness must be consciousness of something" and that both subject and object are real.[204]

This shift is registered in Mansfield's famous letter to Brett about the 'moment' of merging between subject and object: 'There follows the moment when you are *more* duck, *more* apple or *more* Natasha than any of these objects could ever possibly be, and so you *create* them anew'.[205] Fusing 'the inner ego with the outer world', Stowell argues, the impressionists conceptualised 'reality' as 'the synthesis of perceiver and perceived – each exists and each creates meaning for the other'.[206] This synthesis is exemplified in Woolf's last contribution to *The Athenaeum*, the only short story that she published in the periodical, 'Solid Objects'. Focusing on a piece of glass discovered on a beach ('it was so hard, so concentrated, so definite an object'), Woolf's story conveys the idea that:

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[203] Ibid. 61-2.
[204] Stowell, pp. 17-18.
[205] *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 330.
[206] Stowell, p. 32.

> Looked at again and again half consciously by a mind thinking of something else, any object mixes itself so profoundly with the stuff of thought that it loses its actual form and recomposes itself a little differently in an ideal shape which haunts the brain when we least expect it.[207]

The main character in 'Solid Objects' gradually abandons his duties as a Member of Parliament as he obsessively accumulates more and more of these objects, gaining an understanding of the world that reaches beyond the comprehension of his friend; as Woolf suggests, however, this impulse towards accumulation can never be resolved. In this way, Woolf's story reflects Stowell's observation that the impressionists looked to create 'characters who grow only as their ability to perceive the connections among fragments expands': 'the pose of the omniscient, didactic, and discursive author' is replaced 'by an elusive presence' who allows 'characters to perceive for themselves the ambiguous and ultimately unknowable surfaces of sensory reality'.[208]

Mansfield conceptualised this impressionist idea of a fusion between exterior reality and inner self in the notion of the 'glimpse' when she wrote to Morrell in July 1918:

> My secret belief – the innermost "credo" by which I live is that *although* Life is loathsomely ugly and people are terribly often vile and cruel and base, nevertheless there is something at the back of it all – which if only I were great enough to understand would make *everything* everything indescribably beautiful. One just has glimpses, divine warnings – signs – Do you remember the day we cut the lavender? And do you remember when the russian music sounded in that half empty hall? Oh, those memories compensate for more than I can say – [209]

[207] Woolf, 'Solid Objects' in *Athenaeum*, 4721 (Oct. 22, 1920), pp. 543-5.
[208] Stowell, p. 17.
[209] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 254.

Elsewhere, Mansfield describes her 'glimpse of the garden' at 'beautiful' Garsington: 'When I think of it my inward eye is a succession of flashes!'[210] As Vincent O'Sullivan and Margaret Scott note, Mansfield's idea that the 'inward eye' registers 'flashes' and 'glimpses' of the external world reflects the influence of Walter Pater on her thinking.[211] In *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873), Pater argued that, in a world of contingency and drifting phenomena, the key to aesthetic criticism was to 'know one's impression as it really is'.[212] Indeed, the idea of the 'abiding impression' permeates Mansfield's reviews for *The Athenaeum*, providing a structuring motif for analysis.[213] Mansfield's delight in the beauty of the 'external world', however, is continually juxtaposed with a consciousness of the 'vile and cruel and base'.[214] In a letter from October 1919, for example, she writes that 'this great cold indifferent world like a silent malignant river' threatens to overwhelm her inner life, the 'trembling rainbow coloured bubbles' of perception.[215] One's impressions of the external world are always provisional and transitory, Mansfield suggests. This leads her to emphasise the importance of the 'moment' in her writings.

In a notebook entry given the title 'The Glimpse' when it was published by Murry, for instance, Mansfield writes:

> The waves, as I drove home this afternoon, and the high foam, how it was suspended in the air before it fell … What is it that happens in that moment of suspension? It is timeless. In that moment (what *do* I mean?) the whole life of the soul is contained. One is flung up – out of life – one is "held", and then, – down, bright, broken, glittering on to the rocks, tossed back, part of the ebb and flow.[216]

[210] *Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 325; 319.
[211] Vincent O'Sullivan and Margaret Scott, 'Introduction' in *Letters*, vol. 3, pp. ix-x.
[212] Quoted in Matz, p. 13.
[213] (143 and 157 and 247) *Writings*, pp. 487; 507; 662.
[214] *Journal*, p. 154.
[215] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 35.
[216] *Journal*, pp. 202-3.

This passage neatly illustrates Stowell's observation that the 'privileged moments, epiphanies, visionary instants, timeless moments, impressions' that characterise literary impressionism focus on 'temporally extended frozen moments of spatialized time that dissolve and return to the flow of durational time'.[217] 'These moments are not always transcendent, as they must be for the romantics', Stowell argues; instead, these moments are caught between the 'romantic desire for a transcendental glimpse into the "Truth" of human consciousness' and the 'realization that there is no "Truth," only perceived fragments of ambiguous sensory stimuli. *A* truth may be suggestively and momentarily perceived, but it will always be returned to the temporal flow of the other bits and pieces of reality'.[218] In other words, the 'life of the soul' (spirit and truth) may be glimpsed, but only for a moment.

This idea shaped Mansfield's critical writings in *The Athenaeum*. In a review of Vita Sackville-West's novel *Heritage*, for example, she argues that 'the form of the novel' is lost without 'central points of significance': 'the gradual unfolding in growing, gaining light' must 'be followed by one blazing moment'; without this 'blazing moment', Mansfield asks, 'how are we to appreciate the importance of one "spiritual event" rather than another?'[219] What impresses Mansfield about Woolf's short story 'Kew Gardens' is precisely the 'blazing moment' of illumination that is offered to the reader: 'for a moment the secret life is half-revealed […] we believe these things are all [the author's] concern until suddenly with a gesture she shows us the flower-bed, growing, expanding in the heat and light, filling a whole world'.[220] Indeed, Mansfield's concept of the 'blazing moment' bears a striking resemblance to Woolf's own, later concept of 'moments of being'. In the essay 'Sketch of the Past', written in 1939, Woolf distinguishes 'moments of being' from the 'cotton wool of daily life': each moment of being 'is or will become a revelation of some order; it is a token of some real

[217] Stowell, pp. 37; 19.
[218] Ibid. 37; 45.
[219] (128) *Writings*, p. 467.
[220] (132) *Writings*, pp. 474-5.

thing behind appearances' that is made 'real' and 'whole' precisely by the author 'putting it into words'.[221] For Mansfield, also, the idea of the 'moment' was clearly linked to the concept of 'revelation'.[222] When reviewing fictions about the war, in particular, it is the revelation of a personal, 'spiritual truth' that is the essential thing for Mansfield: 'a revelation of [the author's] inner self which would perhaps never have been revealed in times less terrible and strange'.[223] To be taken seriously, authors must make this 'serious attempt at revelation'.[224] A novel such as *A Gift of the Dusk*, for example, affects Mansfield because it 'is not only a record of suffering' but is 'a revelation'.[225]

Hermione Lee notes that Woolf probably developed the idea of 'moments of being' out of a 1928 essay on Thomas Hardy, in which she borrowed the title of one of Hardy's poetry collections, *Moments of Vision*, to describe the 'sudden quickening of power' when 'a single scene breaks off from the rest' in his novels.[226] Woolf's engagement with Hardy's idea of 'moments of vision', however, predates 1928. In November 1919, a time at which Woolf was certainly reading *The Athenaeum*, Murry authored an essay titled 'The Poetry of Mr. Hardy' in which he connects the idea of 'moments of vision' to the concept of 'revelation':

> The word 'revelation' is fertile in false suggestion; the creative act of power which we seek to elucidate is an act of plenary apprehension, by which one manifestation, one form of life, one experience is seen in its rigorous relation to all other and to all possible manifestations, forms, and experiences. It is, we believe, the act which Mr Hardy himself has tried to formulate in the phrase which is the title of one of his books of poems – *Moments of Vision*. […]

[221] Woolf, 'Sketch of the Past' in *Moments of Being: Autobiographical Writings*, ed. by Jeanne Schulkind (London: Pimlico, 2002), p. 85.
[222] Mansfield might have derived her idea of the 'moment' in part from Murry's description of Dostoevsky's novels as 'the sudden revelation of a new consciousness, when all eternity shall be gathered into a moment'.
[223] (112 and 117) *Writings*, pp. 452; 453.
[224] (245) *Writings*, p. 660.
[225] (257) *Writings*, p. 683.
[226] Hermione Lee, 'Introduction' in *Moments of Being: Autobiographical Writings*, ed. by Jeanne Schulkind (London: Pimlico, 2002), p. vii.

> In a 'moment of vision' the poet recognises in a single separate incident of life, life's essential quality. The uniqueness of the whole, the infinite multiplicity and variety of its elements, are manifested and apprehended in a part.[227]

Mansfield echoes this idea in her reviews, asking of each book: 'Has it quickened our perception, or increased our mysterious response to Life? Do we feel that we have partaken of the author's vision – that something has been revealed that we are the richer for having seen?'[228] Similarly, she praises Conrad's 'peculiar responsive sensitiveness to the significance of everything, down to the slightest detail that has a place in his vision': 'in this heightened, quickened state of awareness we are made conscious of his passionate insistence upon the importance of extracting from the moment every drop of life that it contains'.[229] It is this emphasis on glimpses, perception, and vision, as well as the epiphanic 'moment' revealing 'life's essential quality', that bears the hallmarks of literary impressionism.[230]

Throughout her reviews, Mansfield argues that 'revelation comes from that emotional reaction which the artist felt and was impelled to communicate' and that this 'emotion is essential to a work of art; it is that which makes a work of art a unity':

> To contemplate the object, to let it make its own impression – which is Mr. Moore's way in "Esther Waters" – is not enough. There must be an initial emotion felt by the writer, and all that he sees is saturated in that emotional quality. It alone can give incidence and sequence, character and background, a close and intimate unity.[231]

Mansfield argues that Moore's novel presents 'a world of objects accurately recorded' but 'it has no emotion' and, therefore, 'who cares?'[232] 'Without emotion writing is dead', Mansfield

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[227] J. M. M. [Murry], 'The Poetry of Mr. Hardy' in *Athenaeum*, 4671 (Nov. 7, 1919), p. 1148.
[228] (212) *Writings*, p. 610.
[229] (221) *Writings*, p. 623.
[230] These ideas were perhaps also influenced, in part, by James Joyce's notion of the 'epiphany'.
[231] (232) *Writings*, pp. 643-4.
[232] Ibid. 643.

writes; the 'object' must make an 'impression' that is connected to an 'emotion'.[233] When Woolf reviewed this reissue of Moore's novel, she also emphasised this idea of 'emotion':

> Vivid, truthful, so lightly and yet so firmly constructed as it is, what then prevents us from talking of immortality and greatness? In one word, the quality of the emotion. […] The conception springs from no deep original source, and the execution has that sort of evenness which we see in the work of a highly sensitive student copying on to his canvas the picture of some great master.[234]

Similarly, Murry argued in *The Athenaeum* that 'reading is, essentially, a process of enlarging our experience by the direct absorption of emotion'; that literature 'is rooted in emotion, and that it grows by the mastery of emotion, and that its significance finally depends upon the quality and comprehensiveness of the emotion'.[235] These ideas clearly responded to the emphasis on 'emotion' in the theory of 'significant form' advanced within Bloomsbury circles by Clive Bell and Roger Fry, who argued that the form of the artwork, even if it is non-representative, is the source of emotion in the viewer.

In particular, however, articulations of the relation between the 'object' and 'emotion' in *The Athenaeum* were clearly influenced by Eliot's theory of the 'objective correlative', an idea first articulated in print in *The Athenaeum*. In the article 'Hamlet and his Problems', Eliot argued that the 'only way of expressing emotion in the form of art is by finding an "objective correlative"': 'a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that *particular* emotion'.[236] In his book *The Problem of Style*, Murry illustrates this concept by distinguishing between 'the matter-of-fact vision of the professional accumulator of details' and the author who pursues the 'active ideal of art':

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[233] Ibid. 643-4.
[234] Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, p. 251.
[235] J. M. M. [Murry], 'On Reading' in *Athenaeum*, 4712 (Aug. 20, 1920), p. 235; 'The Condition of English Poetry' in *Athenaeum*, 4675 (Dec. 5, 1919), pp. 1284-5.
[236] T. S. E. [Eliot], 'Hamlet and his Problems' in *Athenaeum*, 4665 (Sept. 26, 1919), p. 941.

> Where there is a true emotional reaction to the objects of the external world, there is also a keen sensuous perception; and the vividness of the perception is the warrant of the genuineness of the emotion. All good descriptive writing is based on this activity, which is quite easily to be distinguished from the deliberate accumulation of detail which so often passes under the name. For in the latter case, the detail, having been the cause of no emotion in the writer, can awaken none in the reader.[237]

Comparing Mansfield's 'Prelude' with Bennett's realist novel *Things That Have Interested Me*, for instance, Murry describes how 'sensuous perceptions' in Mansfield's story arouse 'an emotional apprehension of the still solitude of the abandoned room'; 'the objects being in an active relation to the emotion, the emotion is crystallized about them'.[238] In other words, Mansfield's story finds an 'objective correlative' for the emotions that are aroused by 'sensuous perceptions' (impressions) of the external world.

Reiterating this distinction, Mansfield's reviews continually employ 'emotion' as a critical standard for judging literature. In her review of Conrad's *The Rescue*, for instance, Mansfield states that the 'feeling that we are not so much reading a story of adventure as living in and through it' arises 'from the quality of the emotion in which the book is steeped'.[239] In comparison, when the author's 'method is simply to amass observations' Mansfield argues that 'we feel that no one observation is nearer the truth than another'.[240] This idea echoed Woolf's critique of the 'materialists' in 'Modern Novels'. Indeed, when Mansfield and Woolf both reviewed *Java Head* by Hergesheimer they both reiterated the argument of Woolf's essay; both reviews devote considerable space to detailing the novel's plot, for example, thereby foregrounding that aspect of the novel that Woolf and Mansfield were trying to counter in their own work. Furthermore, Woolf compares the deficiencies of

[237] Murry, *The Problem of Style* (London: Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 100.
[238] Ibid. 104.
[239] (221) *Writings*, p. 623.
[240] (253) *Writings*, p. 673.

materialism with fictions of the 'heart', critiquing Hergesheimer for his extensive descriptions of clothing: 'It is very difficult to write beautifully about the heart. When Mr Hergesheimer has to describe not what people wear but what they feel, he shows his lack of ease or of interest'.[241] Similarly, Mansfield argues that it 'is not enough to be comforted with colours, to finger bright shawls'; 'our curiosity is roused as to what lies beneath these strange rich surfaces. Mr. Hergesheimer leaves us wondering and unsatisfied'.[242]

This idea of 'surfaces' shaped Mansfield's critique of the so-called 'stream of consciousness' novelists, Dorothy Richardson and May Sinclair. In her first review for *The Athenaeum*, Mansfield criticises Richardson for 'registering every single thing that happens in the clear, shadowless country of her mind':

> [The novel] is composed of bits, fragments, flashing glimpses, half scenes and whole scenes, all of them quite distinct and separate, and all of them of equal importance. […] Things just 'happen' one after another with incredible rapidity and at break-neck speed. There is Miss Richardson, holding out her mind, as it were, and there is Life hurling objects into it as fast as she can throw.[243]

In a later review of Richardson's novel *Interim*, titled 'Dragonflies', Mansfield repeats this idea that everything is 'of equal importance' when she writes:

> Darting through life, quivering, hovering, exulting in the familiarity and the strangeness of all that comes within her tiny circle, she leaves us feeling, as before, that everything being of equal importance to her, it is impossible that everything should not be of equal unimportance.[244]

[241] Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, p. 49.
[242] (133) *Writings*, p. 477.
[243] (109) *Writings*, p. 446.
[244] (179) *Writings*, p. 558.

In her review of *The Tunnel*, likewise, Woolf argues that reality exists 'beneath the surface': like Mansfield's image of a dragonfly skimming the water, Woolf argues that Richardson is too content focusing on surface impressions, and fails to penetrate any deeper; 'sensations, impressions, ideas and emotions glance off her, unrelated and unquestioned, without shedding quite as much light as we had hoped into the hidden depths'.[245] Instead, Woolf argues, the writer 'should make us feel ourselves seated at the centre of another mind' and 'we should perceive in the helter-skelter of flying fragments some unity, significance, or design'.[246]

Attempting to define what gives fiction this 'unity' and 'significance', Mansfield writes that 'Memory' could not live 'in so tempestuous an environment' as Richardson's mind: 'If we are to be truly alive there are large pauses in which we creep away into our caves of contemplation'.[247] Only by introducing these 'large pauses' can each object and impression be 'judged' and given 'its appointed place in the whole scheme'.[248] Indeed, the concept of 'memory' was central to the notion of the revelatory 'moment' of literary impressionism. Mansfield's evocation of the 'glimpses' of indescribable beauty witnessed at Garsington, for instance, are based upon 'memories' of cutting lavender and hearing Russian music sound in a half empty hall. Similarly, it is from select, emotionally charged memories of the past that Woolf develops her idea of 'moments of being' in 'Sketch of the Past'. And, in an article titled 'The Problem of Keats' published in *The Athenaeum*, Murry writes that 'memory, Moneta, Mnemosyne' is 'the eternal reality itself made visible', revealing 'life's essential quality'.[249] In other words, it is through memory that the author is able to create

[245] Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, pp. 10-11.
[246] Ibid. 11.
[247] (109) *Writings*, p. 446.
[248] Ibid. 447.
[249] J. M. M. [Murry], 'The Problem of Keats' in *Athenaeum*, 4656 (July 25, 1919), p. 650.

order and unity, distinguishing between the 'cotton wool of daily life' and the essential, 'eternal reality' behind appearances revealed in the 'blazing moment'.

When reviewing May Sinclair's novel *Mary Oliver: A Life*, Mansfield focuses her critique on this lack of unity, which is figured in the following quotation by the 'Ark':

> Here, if you like, are the animals set up on the floor, the dove so different from the camel, the sheep so much bigger than the tiger. But where is the Ark? And where, even at the back of the mind, is the Flood, that dark mass of tumbling water which must sooner or later receive them, and float them or drown them?[250]

Sinclair's novel is too concerned with amassing details, rather than with establishing an aesthetic unity. Similarly, Murry uses Sinclair as an example of a failure when he defines the 'artistic problem' facing the modern writer thus: how 'to reconcile the greatest possible diversity of content with the greatest possible unity of aesthetic impression'.[251]

In 1918, Sinclair had borrowed the term 'stream of consciousness' from William James's writings on psychology, applying the term to a literary context for the first time when praising Richardson's work. Although this was a term that Richardson herself didn't favour, the work of the so-called 'stream of consciousness' novelists revealed a pressing problem for the modern author and critic: how to relate the insights of psychology and psychoanalysis to fiction. In 'Modern Novels', for instance, Woolf states: 'The tendency of the moderns and part of their perplexity is no doubt that they find their interest more and more in [the] dark region of psychology'.[252] In an article titled 'Is There a New Generation?' published in *The Athenaeum*, likewise, Murry observed:

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[250] (135) *Writings*, p. 478.
[251] J. M. M. [Murry], 'Thoughts on Tchehov' in *Athenaeum*, 4660 (Aug. 2, 1919), p. 777.
[252] Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, p. 35.

> The 'modern' is too fond of thinking that he has shown up life. What he shows up is not life at all. He is typified by the novelist who pathetically believes that psycho-analysis has added a cubit to his stature, whereas he staggers like a pygmy under the burden.[253]

Mansfield critiqued Sinclair for staggering under this burden, writing: 'she has allowed her love of writing to suffer the eclipse of psycho-analysis'.[254] Elsewhere, Mansfield expresses exasperation at the recurring 'character in modern English fiction […] who from childhood up has suffered from what our psycho-analytical skimmings have taught us to call the sex-complex'.[255] Similarly, when Woolf reviewed J. D. Beresford's *The Imperfect Mother* under the titled 'Freudian Fictions' in the *Times Literary Supplement*, she critiqued the novel for being 'strictly in accordance with the new psychology': 'all the characters have become cases' and in becoming cases 'they have ceased to be individuals':

> We must protest that we do not wish to debar Mr Beresford from making use of any key that seems to him to fit the human mind. Our complaint is rather that in *An Imperfect Mother* the new key is a patent key that opens every door. It simplifies rather than complicates, detracts rather than enriches. The door swings open briskly enough, but the apartment to which we are admitted is a bare little room with no outlook whatever.[256]

When she reviewed this novel in *The Athenaeum*, Mansfield also employed a spatial metaphor to highlight its deficiencies. Beresford and R. H. Bretherton, turning 'from the vague outlines and spaces of the open country, have chosen to build their new novels in what might be called the Garden City of literature', a 'desirable site' lately 'discovered by the psychoanalysts' in which 'the houses are still scattered and few, but there is no doubt as to its dawning popularity with the novelists'.[257] However, Mansfield argues, Beresford 'brings

[253] [Murry], 'Is There a New Generation?' in *Athenaeum*, 4703 (June 18, 1920), p. 789.
[254] (255) *Writings*, p. 676.
[255] (154) *Writings*, p. 501.
[256] Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, pp. 196-7.
[257] (198) *Writings*, p. 584.

nothing from the vasty deep' and reveals only the 'essential emptiness' of the psychoanalytical novel: 'The house is not furnished at all; nobody lives there'.[258]

Mansfield and Woolf's criticism of the 'psychological' novelists reflects their wider argument that modern literature must not attempt to answer a question, but simply pose it: characters must not be made into 'cases' and human experience must not be explained away; intellect and rational argument must always be combined with 'emotion' and 'imagination'. Where Mansfield criticises Swinnerton for leaving 'expression' out of his novel *September*, for example, Woolf also describes his 'lucid rather than […] beautiful mind, intellectual in its scope, rather than imaginative'.[259] Moreover, positioning the 'intellect' and 'vision' in a dialectical relation in an article published in December 1919, Woolf writes: 'The greatest poets, having both the visionary imagination and the intellectual imagination, deal with both sides of life; in the lesser poets either the one kind of imagination or the other predominates'.[260] Likewise, Mansfield writes in one of her reviews:

> [W]hat is the use, to your artist at any rate, of thought that is not the outcome of feeling? You must feel before you can think; you must think before you can express your-self. It is not enough to feel and write; or to think and write. True expression is the outcome of them both, yet a third thing, and separate.[261]

Writing to Murry about his book *The Evolution of an Intellectual* in December 1919, furthermore, Mansfield states that 'intellectual reasoning is never *the whole truth*. Its not *the artist's truth* – not *creative*. If man were an intellect it would do – but man ISN'T': 'The

[258] Ibid. 586.
[259] Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, p. 104.
[260] Ibid. 134.
[261] (210) *Writings*, p. 609.

complete you rebels against the intellectual you at times and wrestles and overthrows it'.[262] Similarly, in a review of a novel by Couperus, Mansfield asks:

> What is it then that differentiates these living characters from the book-bound creatures of even our brilliant modern English writers? Is it not that the former are seen ever, and always in relation to life – not to a part of life, not to a set of society, but to the bounding horizon, life, and the latter are seen in relation to an intellectual idea of life? In this second case life is made to fit them; something is abstracted – something quite unessential – that they wouldn't in the least know what to do with … and they are set in motion. But life cannot be made to "fit" anybody.[263]

In other words, both Mansfield and Woolf argued that literature must seek to mediate between 'vision' and 'feeling' (the intuitive) and 'intellect' and 'thought' (the rational), producing a third, separate thing out of this dialectic: only then might the author approximate (in the words of Woolf's 'Modern Novels') 'what we might venture to call life itself'. 'It is only by accepting life as M. Couperus accepts it', Mansfield writes, for instance, 'that the novelist is free – through his characters – to question it profoundly'.[264]

The opposition to the 'psychological' novelists expressed by Mansfield and Woolf was also born from their antipathy towards literature 'centred in a self'. In 1920, for example, Mansfield writes: 'The word that haunts me is egocentric'.[265] Looking to counter this, Mansfield sought to rise 'above all pain, and all infirmity – rising above everything'.[266] As such, she defined her 'philosophy' at this time as 'the defeat of the personal':

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[262] *Letters*, vol. 3, pp. 145-6.
[263] (174) *Writings*, p. 546.
[264] Ibid. 547.
[265] *Journal*, p. 212.
[266] Ibid.

> People today are simply cursed by what I call the *personal* … What is happening to ME. Look at ME. This is what has been done to ME. Its just as though you tried to run and all the while an enormous black serpent fastened on to you.[267]

This opposition to the vogue for obsessive self-analysis constitutes Mansfield's main criticism of Richardson: 'her concern is primarily, and perhaps ultimately, with herself'.[268] Mansfield argued that one must instead 'learn to submit': 'Its only by risking losing yourself – giving yourself up to Life – that you can ever find out the answer'.[269] This submission meant merging the self with the other, as Mansfield made clear on several occasions: 'when I am writing of "another" I want to lose myself in the soul of the other that I am not'; the artist 'must accept Life, he must submit, give himself so utterly to Life that no personal quâ personal self remains'; one 'must learn, one must practise, to *forget* oneself'.[270] Through this 'act of surrender' the artist will be able 'to lose oneself more utterly, to love more deeply, to feel oneself part of life, – not separate' and will thereby 'pass from personal love to greater love'.[271] As such, the submission of the 'personal' self would lead to a more universal comprehension and compassion, Mansfield argued: 'This is the moment which, after all, we live for, – the moment of direct feeling when we are most ourselves and least personal'.[272]

Like Woolf in 'Modern Novels', therefore, Mansfield postulates 'love' and 'feeling' as that which can mediate between self and other, subject and object. Like Woolf, too, Mansfield derived this idea from her reading of Chekhov. In the letters that Mansfield and Koteliansky chose to translate for *The Athenaeum*, Chekhov repeatedly speaks of the 'question' posed by the author, an idea that served to underline Mansfield's critique of the realist and 'psychological' novelists. For instance, Chekhov writes that it is 'not the business

[267] *Journal*, p. 195; *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 196.
[268] (109) *Writings*, p. 446.
[269] *Letters*, vol. 4, p. 180; vol. 3, p. 196.
[270] *Letters*, vol. 4, pp. 180-1; *Journal*, p. 269.
[271] *Letters*, vol. 4, p. 105; *Journal*, pp. 228-9.
[272] *Journal*, p. 205.

of a psychological writer to understand that which he does not understand' or to 'pretend that he understands that which nobody understands'; instead, the writer must simply be 'an impartial witness': 'For writers, particularly for writers who are artists, it is high time to confess […] that you can't understand anything in this world'.[273] Similarly, in another letter, Chekhov writes that 'it is not the business of the artist to solve highly technical questions. An artist is wrong in undertaking what he does not understand':

> That his sphere does not contain questions, but is made up wholly and solely of answers, could only be argued by one who has never written and never had to do with creative work. An artist observes, selects, divines, relates – these activities alone presuppose a question. […] You are right in asking from an artist a conscious attitude to his activity, but you are mixing up two things: the solving of the question and the correct putting of the question. It is the latter only which is obligatory upon the artist.[274]

Furthermore, among the letters published in *The Athenaeum*, Chekhov notes that 'details' in literature should not be 'a catalogue of impressions' but rather 'like the stars in the sky, part of one great whole'.[275] This highlights synergies between Chekhov's own 'impressionism' and that promoted throughout *The Athenaeum*.

For Murry and Mansfield, the task of the author was to relate the personal experience of reality to a more universal comprehension of life: 'the active ideal of art is indeed to see life steadily and see it whole' and the 'great artist' is one 'whose work manifests an incessant growth from a merely personal immediacy to a coherent and all-comprehending attitude to life'.[276] As Murry writes, the question facing the author 'is, how shall he compel others to feel the particularity of his emotion?'[277] As such, the 'great writer' is one who can refine

[273] (118 and 114) *Writings*, pp. 211; 209.
[274] (131) *Writings*, pp. 220-1.
[275] (114) *Writings*, p. 207.
[276] Murry, 'The Function of Criticism', p. 290.
[277] Murry, *The Problem of Style*, p. 75.

'emotional experience' into 'a system of emotional conviction' and thereby apprehend 'the quality of life as a whole' and 'make the particular a symbol of the universal'.[278] It was this emotional comprehensiveness that both Murry and Mansfield found in the work of Chekhov. As Murry writes, for instance, Chekhov is not an 'intellectualist' who seeks to explain human experience or answer life's great problems: instead, he 'is driven to art by the excess of his humanity'; his work maintains 'sensibility at its most sensitive, and experience at its most comprehensive'.[279] In other words, Chekhov sought to relate the 'impression' to the 'great whole', the particular to the universal, and the individual emotion to what Mansfield termed the 'bounding horizon' of life.

It was this emotional comprehensiveness that Woolf also perceived in the writings of Chekhov. Reviewing Constance Garnett's translation of *The Bishop and Other Stories*, for example, Woolf writes of Chekhov's story 'The Steppe': 'Without metaphor, the feelings of his characters are related to something more important and far more remote than personal success or happiness'.[280] Corresponding with Koteliansky about 'The Steppe', likewise, Mansfield writes: 'One feels about this story not that it *becomes* immortal – it always was'.[281] In her review of the Arts Theatre production of 'The Cherry Orchard' printed in July 1920, furthermore, Woolf writes:

> I do not know how better to describe the sensation at the end of *The Cherry Orchard*, than by saying that it sends one into the street feeling like a piano played upon at last, not in the middle only but all over the keyboard and with the lid left open so that the sound goes on.[282]

In her own review of this production for *The Athenaeum*, Mansfield described how all 'that comes under the author's spell is bathed, is steeped and saturated in an emotional

[278] Ibid. 92-3.
[279] Murry, 'More Notes on Tchehov' in *Athenaeum*, 4732 (Jan. 7, 1921), p. 12.
[280] Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, p. 85.
[281] *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 353.
[282] Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, p. 248.

atmosphere'.[283] These reviews highlight the fundamental ambivalence that is at the heart of literary impressionism. Mediating between inner experience and the exterior world, and between the particular and the universal, the 'truth' imparted by Chekhov's writings is much in the nature of the revelatory 'moment': if it is impossible to 'understand anything in this world', as Chekhov argued, 'truth' can only ever be half-glimpsed through select, emotionally charged moments. As Drewery has observed, 'the great revelation is ultimately incommunicable': the 'liminal states encompassing these moments are less revelations of an order of "some real thing behind appearances" as Woolf put it, than instances in which the reader and protagonists become aware of conflicts which cannot be resolved' (the eternal question that 'sounds on and on').[284] Whilst noting the 'immortal' or 'universal' aspects of Chekhov's writings, as such, both Mansfield and Woolf attribute this comprehensiveness to an elusive and unresolved 'emotional atmosphere' or 'sensation'. In other words, both reviewers attribute the success of Chekhov's work to an unresolved dialectic and highlight a fundamental failure of critical language to describe or define this.

This awareness of the failure of language to mediate successfully between the inner life and outer world is highlighted when Mansfield writes to Morrell that the 'something at the back of it all' which is glimpsed in 'divine warnings – signs' is '*indescribably* beautiful'. This linguistic indeterminacy is at the heart of literary impressionism and also the critical writings by Mansfield and Woolf. As Goldie explains, 'if literature is the record of a number of deeply felt experiences rendered imperfectly in language', as the impressionists believed, then 'it must not be "read" so much as experienced intuitively through the traces of its imperfect expression'.[285] Throughout her reviews, as such, Mansfield privileges a form of

[283] (226) *Writings*, p. 632. Whilst marked copies of *The Athenaeum* clearly state that the review was authored by 'J. M. Murry', Murry later published the review under Mansfield's name.
[284] Claire Drewery, *Modernist Short Fiction by Women: The Liminal in Katherine Mansfield, Dorothy Richardson, May Sinclair and Virginia Woolf* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 119-20.
[285] Goldie, p. 72.

intuitive literary criticism. Whilst attributing the success of Conrad's *The Rescue* to 'the quality of the emotion in which the book is steeped', for example, Mansfield also concedes: 'what that emotion is it were hard to define'.[286] Similarly, whilst emphasising the importance of 'emotional atmosphere' throughout her reviews, Mansfield also writes:

> What do we mean when we speak of the atmosphere of a novel? It is one of those questions exceedingly difficult to fit with an answer. It is one of those questions which, each time we look at them, seem to have grown. At one time "emotional quality" seemed to cover it, but is that adequate? […] Dear Heaven! there are moments when we are inclined to take our poor puzzled mind upon our knee and tell it: "It is something that happens to a book after it is written. It droppeth like the gentle dew from Heaven upon the book beneath." Or to cry largely: "You feel a book either has it, whatever it is, or hasn't it."[287]

Mansfield's reviews have been overlooked, perhaps, because they do not constitute a uniform critical stance or theory, often relying upon intuitive critical judgements. Yet it is precisely this intuitiveness and openness to the unresolved that signals Mansfield's debt to the stylistic and conceptual principles of literary impressionism. Whilst Mansfield's reviews echo the contemporary notion that literature should be 'impersonal' and 'detached', therefore, the reviews themselves are based upon deeply personal responses. Writing to Murry in 1920, for instance, she states: 'The only sort of paper for the time is an out and out *personal dead true, dead sincere* paper in which we spoke our HEARTS and MINDS'.[288] She also requested that reviews in *The Athenaeum* be put into the first person, which 'would give the whole paper an amazing lift up': 'A paper that length must be *definite*, *personal*, or die'.[289] Mansfield's fiction and criticism therefore work in very different ways: in her short stories, Mansfield aimed at the 'defeat of the personal' in order to reflect an all-comprehending attitude to life;

[286] (221) *Writings*, p. 623.
[287] (259) *Writings*, p. 688.
[288] *Letters*, vol. 4, p. 82.
[289] Ibid. 135.

in her reviews, by contrast, it was only be conveying a personal, intuitive, emotional response to the work of art that Mansfield felt she could be 'sincere' and honest.

These personal responses were part of a sustained intercourse and dialogue in print between the critical writings of Mansfield and Woolf. Like Woolf, Mansfield advanced an idea of modern fiction, and reality itself, as constituted 'between two worlds': 'impressions' and revelatory 'glimpses' mediate between the secret, inner life of the self and the material, exterior world. Whilst she regularly accused Woolf's reviews of '[i]ntellectual snobbery' and often openly declared her opposition to the other writer ('We really *are* opposed'),[290] Mansfield advanced the same set of impressionist aesthetic principles throughout her critical writings, advocating the same renunciation of Victorian literature and realist modes of writing in favour of rendering apperception and immediate sensations, of 'opening the windows to the hurrying sounds outside, and throwing all the old gang into the river'. When she was living abroad in 1919 and 1920, Mansfield regularly wrote to Murry imploring him to send her copies of rival publications, such as *The London Mercury* and the *Times Literary Supplement*, observing: 'These papers have made me feel in touch with THE paper […] They create a vacuum which is filled with ones own ideas'.[291] Rather than creating a 'vacuum', I want to suggest, the reviews and critical essays that Woolf published in the *Times Literary Supplement* over these years provided a counterpoint to Mansfield's own ideas in *The Athenaeum*. As such, Mansfield's reviews highlight the dialogues and exchanges that could take place across publications, revealing the 'conversational model for modernism' that early twentieth-century periodical culture sustained.

[290] *Letters*, vol. 3, p. 122.
[291] Ibid. 85.

Conclusion

In October 1920, Mansfield wrote a letter to Murry in which she reiterated the concept of a separate, remote 'world' of a select few, a 'mysterious' world waiting to be discovered:

> I return to DelaMare's letter. I long to hear of your time with him. Its very queer; he haunts me here – not a persistent or substantial ghost but as one who shares my (our) joy in the *silent world*. Joy is not the word: I only used it because it conveys a stillness – a remoteness – because there is a faraway sound in it. […] Isn't it possible that if one yielded there is a whole world into which one is received? It is so near and yet I am conscious that I hold back from giving myself up to it. What is this something mysterious that waits – that beckons?[292]

Walter de la Mare was a poet who had contributed to *The Blue Review*. *The Athenaeum*, like other periodicals of its time, often commissioned favourable reviews among its contributors. Remarkably, for instance, Woolf reviewed two books of poetry by Murry and Eliot that had been published by her own press. In December 1920, then, Mansfield wrote to Murry, saying: 'If DeLaMare would do my book – Id rather him than anyone'.[293]

When De la Mare reviewed *Bliss and Other Stories* anonymously for *The Athenaeum* in January 1921, he employed Mansfield's own critical vocabulary of literary impressionism to describe the merits of the story collection. Like Mansfield, for instance, De la Mare uses metaphors of 'intrepid' exploration to describe the 'spirit' and 'truth' of the book:

> Without fear, without favour, though not without predilection, she accepts, explores, makes herself at home in the chosen phase of reality. Her consciousness is as clear, it is only *apparently* as indiscriminating, as a looking-glass. The spirit that surveys its field is delicate

[292] *Letters*, vol. 4, p. 75
[293] Ibid. 133.

> yet intrepid, fastidiously frank. To her very finger-tips she is in love with beauty, and securely so because her love springs out of her devotion to truth.[294]

Evoking the impressionist focus on 'vision' and perception, De la Mare writes that the book offers 'glimpses' into the life of each character and that Mansfield's 'vision casts far its beams, illuminates a naughty world; and we may be content merely to scrutinize the world in its light'.[295] As such, like the emphasis across the critical writings of Mansfield and Woolf, De la Mare suggests that works of modern fiction should make the reader feel that they are positioned at the centre of another mind: to 'any true observer', he argues, the most 'precious' thing about reading *Bliss* 'is the experience of watching [another] conscience in deliberation behind the eyes'.[296] This experience, he writes, 'is one of the rarest of lessons, the most secret of joys'.[297] In this way, De la Mare echoes the concept advanced throughout Mansfield's reviews of the 'secret life' of the self: for instance, he writes that, for each of Mansfield's 'meek' and 'cheated' characters, people who must endure the 'vile' world and the 'human abuse of it', 'heaven is out of sight, deep, illimitable, within themselves'.[298] In accordance with this emphasis on the inner life, De la Mare also highlights the importance of the 'emotional' reaction to the 'object' and the fusion between imagination and intellect. Whilst Mansfield's 'pitch of mind is invariably emotional', he writes, her writing method also 'captivates the intelligence': 'minute strokes disclose the method of this writer, and prove that her imaginative gaze is fixed on the object'.[299] Whilst 'Mansfield's personality, whatever its disguises, haunts her work', therefore, De la Mare also celebrates 'the discipline and self-sacrifice' of her prose, the 'acceptance of life' that proves she is 'an artist'.[300] This

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[294] [Walter de la Mare] 'Prelude' in *Athenaeum*, 4734 (Jan. 21, 1921), p. 67. The marked files for *The Athenaeum* clearly attribute authorship of this review to De la Mare.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Ibid.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Ibid.
[299] Ibid.
[300] Ibid.

echoes Mansfield's philosophy: the 'defeat of the personal' and the submission of the self. Finally, De la Mare writes that Mansfield's characters are 'engrossed in every conceivable manifestation of the depicted problem, Life; whose answer – to go on with – is merely its indefatigable insistence on itself, its defiant momentum'.[301] Like Mansfield, then, De la Mare argues that the task of the author is to pose questions, not to answer them, and that the vitality of modern fiction resides in this irresolution and dialectical movement. Describing the 'world of this book' as 'lovely and significant', for instance, De la Mare writes: 'If perhaps we ask, Significant of what? Miss Mansfield does not answer, outright'.[302]

Addressed to *The Athenaeum*'s readership, who had come to know Mansfield over the last two years as 'K.M.' the critic, De la Mare's review employs Mansfield's own critical vocabulary and the conceptual ideas of literary impressionism advanced throughout her reviews in order to designate *Bliss*, only Mansfield's second published short story collection, as 'a kind of divination' that 'justifies or validates her criticism'.[303] In this way, we can see how Mansfield's critical writings conditioned the interpretation of her short stories by her contemporaries. De la Mare's review of *Bliss* highlights the way in which Mansfield's critical writings in *The Athenaeum* shaped the public reception of her own creative work, demonstrating that her practice of reviewing impacted upon her fiction writing, and vice versa. If we are to properly understand and contextualise Mansfield's late, most celebrated short stories, therefore, we must first appreciate the importance of her critical writings; the reviews written for *The Athenaeum* deserve to be positioned as a significant body of work that affected not only Mansfield's direction as a short story writer, but also the tenets of literary impressionism that have come to dominate how we define 'modernism'.

[301] Ibid.
[302] Ibid.
[303] Ibid.

Mansfield's letters to Murry about De la Mare also highlight the relational model of creation that periodicals sustained. As well as establishing a dialogue and exchange between her own critical writings and those by Woolf, Mansfield's idea of a 'new world' removed from the corruption and disintegration of the 'worldly world' provided a spatial metaphor of affiliation between a select minority of writers, artists, and intellectuals; a world apart that she imaginatively shared with others in the periodical and also beyond its pages, such as Lawrence, Morrell, De la Mare, and Duhamel. It is significant that, for Mansfield, this metaphor was overlaid with colonial connotations of discovering a 'new world' and that the 'undiscovered country' was often associated with many 'islands' (such as New Zealand) reached through the sea voyage. Yet, as this chapter has examined, Mansfield's use of this metaphor clearly extended beyond such biographical resonances. Across *The Athenaeum*, in particular, the idea of geographical exploration and discovery registered the cultural and 'spiritual' impact of the First World War. Furthermore, the idea of a 'new world' also gestured towards the post-war possibility of discovering a 'new word' of modernist formal experimentation. It is only by realising these wider, dialogic resonances of the 'new world' across the periodical that we can begin to fully appreciate the context in which Mansfield positioned her reviews. Like other contributors to *The Athenaeum*, Mansfield viewed her critical writings as part of a post-war project of 'spiritual' rejuvenation. Within this context, it is possible to see how Mansfield's reviews served to promote the stylistic and conceptual principles of literary impressionism, mediating between the out-dated, exterior 'material' world of realism and the inner 'spiritual' world of an emergent modernism.

4. Afterlives

‘Memories of Katherine Mansfield’

Katherine Mansfield died at the age of thirty-four on 9 January 1923 at the Gurdjieff Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man near Fontainebleau, at which Orage was also a resident; she died on the evening that Murry first visited her at the Institute. Fittingly, perhaps, Mansfield’s life ended in the presence of the two magazine editors who had exercised the most influence in the development of her writing career. After her death, both men saw themselves as guardians of Mansfield’s legacy, taking it upon themselves to try and mould her public image and shape her posthumous reputation. In November 1924, for instance, Orage published an article in the *Century* magazine titled ‘Talks with Katherine Mansfield at Fontainebleau’ in which he described his conversations with Mansfield in the final months of her life, conversations in which she had apparently arrived at a new vision and plan for her writing. At this time, Orage was embarking upon a lecture tour promoting the Institute across America, and it is difficult to escape the suspicion that his ‘Talks with Katherine Mansfield’ were contrived, or at the very least massaged, in order to better publicise the tenets of Gurdjieff’s philosophy. Murry, however, went much further in mediating the posthumous image of Mansfield to his own advantage.

Encouraged by Mansfield's cousin, Elizabeth Russell, to 'publish all you *can*, as quickly as you can',[1] Murry must have dismayed many when, only weeks after his wife's death, he wrote to the correspondence pages of the *Times Literary Supplement* and *The Nation and the Athenaeum* outlining his plans to publish 'a volume or more of the late Katherine Mansfield's letters' and requesting that her friends send 'either copies of the originals, or the originals themselves that I may copy them'.[2] Wasting no time in positioning himself as Mansfield's literary executor, Murry's enthusiasm to publish her posthumous writings must have appeared more than a little unfeeling to others who had known her. Within three more months, Murry had also published the first issue of a new magazine devoted to Mansfield's memory, titled *The Adelphi*. Over the next decade, the magazine printed a wide range of previously unpublished work by Mansfield, including short stories, poems, drawings sketched in her letters to Murry, co-translations made with Koteliansky, unfinished fragments of stories, and, most controversially of all, extracts from her journals and notebooks, which were serialised in six instalments and often prefaced with Murry's own self-conscious and self-serving 'introductions'.

This chapter focuses on Mansfield's 'afterlife' in *The Adelphi*, examining the ways in which her writings were employed by Murry to advance a clear editorial philosophy. As Ann Ardis has observed, we must look to distinguish between 'the work of the modernist avant-garde, as published in its original material historical context(s)' and 'the interpretative and evaluative paradigms through which the study of early twentieth-century literature and art was institutionalised in the 1920s, '30s and beyond'.[3] If the first three chapters of this thesis have sought to examine the former, then this last chapter attempts to illuminate the latter,

[1] Quoted in F. A. Lea, *The Life of John Middleton Murry* (London: Methuen, 1959), p. 112.
[2] John Middleton Murry, 'Katherine Mansfield' in *Times Literary Supplement*, 1100 (Feb. 15, 1923), p. 108.
[3] Ann Ardis, 'Democracy and Modernism: *The New Age* under A. R. Orage (1907-22)' in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 223.

interrogating the ways in which periodical culture provided 'interpretative and evaluative paradigms' for the institutionalisation of early twentieth-century modernist literature. In particular, this chapter examines the ways in which select magazines were motivated by an essentially conservative editorial impulse towards nostalgia and memorialisation. In his examination of *The Paris Review*, for example, Christopher Bains has suggested that mid twentieth-century magazines sought to shape and re-enunciate 'not only a genealogy of modernism but also its mythology'.[4] This chapter examines how Murry sought to 'fix' Mansfield's posthumous reputation in *The Adelphi*, elided those aspects of her personality and writings that did not fit with his idealised image of her. In this way, this chapter analyses *The Adelphi* as a major site in which Murry cultivated the so-called 'Mansfield myth'.

Critics have long recognised how Murry's editing of Mansfield's journals and letters in book form presented a partial picture of the author that fostered what Jeffrey Meyers and Ruth Mantz have respectively termed the 'cult of Mansfield' and the 'Mansfield myth'.[5] As Kathleen Jones has observed, Murry's 'editorial process seemed designed to soften and smooth, for public consumption, a relationship that had often been anything but'; moreover, he 'edited out "the 'masked' pretender" and the entertainer capable of "merciless parody"' in favour of portraying a side to Mansfield that, whilst it was not wholly untrue of her character, was certainly only part of the truth.[6] This process resembles the later practices of Leonard Woolf and Ted Hughes in editing the posthumous works of their wives, Virginia Woolf and Sylvia Plath. Murry is routinely and rather unfairly, I would suggest, vilified for his editorial distortions of Mansfield's life and work. What has not been examined in any depth, however,

[4] Christopher Bains, 'Critics Abroad: The Early Years of *The Paris Review* (1953-65)' in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume II: North America 1894-1960*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 760.
[5] Jeffrey Meyers, 'Murry's Cult of Mansfield' in *Journal of Modern Literature*, 7.1 (Feb. 1979), 15-38; Ruth Mantz, 'Fifty Years After' in *Adam International Review*, 370-5 (1973), 117-27.
[6] Kathleen Jones, *Katherine Mansfield: The Storyteller* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 313.

is how Murry's cultivation of the 'Mansfield myth' was conditioned by the contexts of periodical culture.

This chapter argues that *The Adelphi* provided an early and regular testing-ground for Murry's editing process, functioning as a vehicle for the selection and piecemeal publication of Mansfield's posthumous writings that shaped how she was subsequently perceived and read: positioned in this context, Mansfield's writings were placed in dialogue with certain ideas that inevitably impacted upon how her work was interpreted. In particular, Murry's presentation of Mansfield in *The Adelphi* as an isolated genius presented her as a writer removed from networks of association. Furthermore, if Mansfield's contributions to *The New Age* had articulated a radical politics of individualist feminism, a politics that was clearly informed by her own sexual experiences and that overtly challenged stereotyped gender roles, then *The Adelphi* instead associated Mansfield's work with 'saintly' and virginal feminine qualities that neutralised her political radicalism. Likewise, if Mansfield's contributions to *Rhythm* had demonstrated the importance of her colonial identity in shaping the development of her writing, then *The Adelphi* placed her within an explicitly 'English' national tradition, stabilising the impulse towards border-crossing that had motivated much of her work. Finally, if Mansfield's contributions to *The Athenaeum* had fostered an emergent modernism of literary impressionism, then *The Adelphi* positioned her writings within an ossified tradition of 'Romanticism' that was avowedly anti-modernist. As this final chapter argues, therefore, *The Adelphi* sought to elide and erase those disjunctive, transgressive aspects to Mansfield's writings analysed in the previous chapters of the thesis.

In examining Mansfield's 'afterlife' in *The Adelphi*, this chapter also seeks to emphasise another facet of the 'mediation' concept. As Guillory observes, one of the most common uses of the word 'medium' in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was in its application to the notion of a 'spiritual' communion between the living and the dead:

'In our history of concept formation, the prevalence of the spiritual medium marks a transition from the notion of communication premised on face-to-face exchange to one premised on distance'.[7] As this chapter argues, Murry clearly founded *The Adelphi* upon this notion of a spiritual communion, consistently emphasising the idea of a spectral return and associating Mansfield with 'pure' and 'unearthly' qualities. This 'mediation' of Mansfield's posthumous reputation indelibly shaped the formation of the 'Mansfield myth' and, as such, highlights the important and potentially distortive function that magazines played in the institutionalisation of early twentieth-century literature from the 1920s onwards.

The Adelphi

In his letter of condolence to Murry following Mansfield's death, D. H. Lawrence was uncharacteristically generous, suggesting that '[p]erhaps it is good for Katharine [sic] not to have seen the next phase': 'It has been a savage enough pilgrimage these last four years. Perhaps K. has taken the only way for her. We keep faith – I always feel death only strengthens that, the faith between those who have it'.[8] In the same letter, Lawrence also told Murry that he would ask his publisher to send his latest work, *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, which he wished Mansfield could have read: 'She'll know though', he wrote. 'The dead don't die. They look on and help'.[9]

This was a defining moment for Murry. In February 1923, he retreated to the solitude of a cottage in the forest of Twyford in Sussex and read the *Fantasia*. It was here, inspired by

[7] John Guillory, 'Genesis of the Media Concept' in *Critical Inquiry*, 36 (Winter 2010), pp. 347-8.
[8] D. H. Lawrence, *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, vol. 4, ed. by Warren Roberts, James T. Boutlton and Elizabeth Mansfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 375.
[9] Ibid.

Lawrence's descriptions of primary pre-mental consciousness, that Murry underwent a profound mystical experience that he later described as 'the one entirely revolutionary happening' in his life.[10] This experience seemed to confirm Murry in the belief that the 'dead don't die' but instead 'look on and help'. In the second issue of *The Adelphi*, published in July 1923, he recounted these events:

> Not many months ago I lost someone whom it was impossible for me to lose – the only person on this earth who understood me or whom I understood. This impossible thing happened. Katherine Mansfield died. For a fortnight I lived in a dream. […]
>
> I began to be aware that there was something I must do. At first it was simply that I must go away. Then it hardened and became clearer: I must *be* alone. Not merely have loneliness thrust on me by the high gods, as it had been, but achieve and perfect it in myself and by myself. And then, knowing this, I was terribly afraid. […]
>
> Then in the dark, in the dead, still house, I sat at the table facing the fire. I sat there motionless for hours, while I tried to face the truth that I was alone. […] At last I had the sensation that I *was* in my hands and feet, that where they ended I also ended, as at a frontier of my being, and beyond that frontier stretched out the vast immensities, of space, of the universe, of the illimitable something that was other than I. Where I ended, it began – other, strange, terrible, menacing. It did not know me, would never acknowledge me, denied me utterly. Yet out upon this, from the fragile rampart of my own body, I found the courage to peer, to glance, at last to gaze steadily. And I became aware of myself as a little island against whose slender shores a cold, dark, boundless ocean lapped devouring. […]
>
> What happened then? […] [A] moment came when the darkness of that ocean changed to light, the cold to warmth; when it swept in one great wave over the shores and frontiers of my self; when it bathed me and I was renewed; when the room was filled with a

[10] Quoted in Lea, p. 102.

> presence, and I knew I was not alone – that I never could be alone any more, that the universe beyond held no menace, for I was part of it[.][11]

This 'singular experience' provided the basis for a book on religion that Murry published in 1926, titled *God*. Thinking back on his 1923 account of the mystical experience, Murry offered this clarification in the 1926 book:

> One point which I clearly remember, was passed over deliberately in my account of the experience. Where I say that 'the room was filled with a presence,' the 'presence' was definitely connected with the person of Katherine Mansfield. […] The 'presence' of Katherine Mansfield was of the same order as the 'presence' which filled the room and me. In so far as the 'presence' was connected with her it had a moral quality, or a moral effect: I was immediately and deeply convinced that 'all was well with her.'[12]

'In Murry's construction of his life as a spiritual journey', as Sydney Janet Kaplan has observed, 'this incident takes central stage in his personal drama. He quickly discovered that it could serve the purpose of explaining his new direction as a writer – and most significantly, as an editor'.[13] Religion and the spiritual life became major themes in Murry's work. Furthermore, as the passages above indicate, he felt emboldened by his reading of the *Fantasia* and his deeply felt experience in the Sussex cottage to discard all pretence of impersonality in his writing. Personal experience now became the basis for Murry's work, and his article 'Relevancy', published in *The Nation and the Athenaeum* in April 1923 and written in a style highly reminiscent of Lawrence's prose, signals this change. Within a week of writing this article, Murry had abruptly resigned all his regular literary work and resolved himself to launching a new magazine, the venture with which his name would subsequently,

[11] Murry, 'A Month After' in *Adelphi*, 1.2 (July 1923), pp. 94-5.
[12] Murry, *God: Being an Introduction to the Science of Metabiology* (London: Cape, 1929), pp. 37-8.
[13] Sydney Janet Kaplan, *Circulating Genius: John Middleton Murry, Katherine Mansfield and D.H. Lawrence* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 170.

and often derogatively, be associated from then on. Conceived as a mouthpiece for Lawrence and Murry, this magazine would also be filled with the 'presence' of Katherine Mansfield.

Initially, there was talk of Murry taking over *The New Age* from Orage, who was keen to sell the periodical on very generous terms. In the second week of April, then, Murry made another pilgrimage to Fontainebleau to negotiate permission. When he returned to England, Vivian Locke-Ellis urged him to accept Orage's offer and make *The New Age* a kind of successor to *The Athenaeum*, offering money for the purpose. Consulting Koteliansky and Sullivan, however, Murry was persuaded that it was better to start something new. For the magazine's title, Sullivan suggested the name of the building in which the men had worked together on *The Athenaeum*, Adelphi Terrace.[14] With the £400 given by Locke-Ellis, Murry spent £250 on preliminary advertising, among which was a promotional flyer for the new magazine that confidently proclaimed:

> The standard by which the contents of *The Adelphi* will be decided is 'significance for life'. […] We are bored to death by modern dilettantism. We are sick of 'Art'. Inspired by no living purpose it has brought us nowhere. If modern literature is to be anything better than a pastime for railway journeys or a parlour game for effete intellectuals, it must be built upon some active conviction. […] *The Adelphi* will not be a high-brow magazine. It aims at being comprehensive and interesting to as many people as possible. But it will not be written down to suit the needs of an imaginary audience of the semi-educated and half-witted.[15]

Whilst the distinction between 'pastime' literature and art founded upon 'active conviction' bears the defining hallmark of Mansfield's critical writings in *The Athenaeum*, the assertion that *The Adelphi* would not be 'high-brow' clearly distinguished it from the earlier journal. When the first issue of the new magazine was published, the total exclusion of literary

[14] It was only later that the meaning of 'Adelphi' as 'Brothers' would gain significance.
[15] Quoted in Lea, pp. 106-7.

reviews underlined this difference from *The Athenaeum*. Rather than being self-consciously 'high-brow', *The Adelphi* would be avowedly democratic; it would be as 'comprehensive and interesting to as many people as possible'. As Lea has suggested, the promotional flyer for *The Adelphi* 'is at least as eloquent of Murry's revulsion from [elitist] Bloomsbury as of any more positive belief'.[16] In particular, the foundation of *The Adelphi* can be considered as a response to the periodical founded by Eliot in 1922, *The Criterion*, and it was in these two publications that Murry and Eliot conducted the extended debate throughout the 1920s and '30s between their respective positions of 'Romanticism' and 'Classicism'.

In the first issue of his new magazine, Murry attempted 'to justify *The Adelphi*, to write boldly, to unfurl and wave a flag'.[17] '*The Adelphi* is nothing if it is not an act', he wrote:

> It is not a business proposition, or a literary enterprise, or a nice little book in a pretty yellow cover; it is primarily and essentially an assertion of a faith that may be held in a thousand different ways, of a faith that life is important, and that more life should be man's chief endeavour […] a common conviction that man must be true to his own experience.[18]

When it came to it, however, the awkwardness of such a faith, manifold and essentially indefinable, made Murry nervous; after publication of the first issue, he was gripped with worry that he would be misunderstood or simply dismissed as 'a crank'.[19] Yet the preliminary and widespread advertising campaign proved incredibly and unexpectedly successful. The voice of Koteliansky, who had been appointed 'business manager' of the magazine, as he had before with *The Signature*, 'seemed to explode over the telephone' when he rang Murry to

[16] Lea, p. 106.
[17] Murry, 'The Cause Of It All' in *Adelphi*, 1.1 (June 1923), p. 4.
[18] Ibid. 8.
[19] Lea, p. 108.

tell him: '"It's gone with a *bang*"'.[20] The first issue sold out within a week, and had to be reprinted three more times over the next fortnight to meet demand. Rather than the 5,000 copies that Murry had initially anticipated, the first issue sold at least 18,000 copies.[21] By contrast, the first issue of *The Criterion* sold just 600 copies. *The Adelphi* was a sensational success; no literary monthly had touched such a figure before. The second issue sold 12,000, and over the next six months there was a steady decline to the more reasonable circulation of between five and six thousand copies. Nevertheless, the conservative estimate of an average circulation of 4,200 copies per month in the years 1923-7 highlights the fact that *The Adelphi* was one of the most significant independent journals of interwar Britain.

From the very beginning, however, the success of *The Adelphi* was attended by notable derision within the 'high-brow' circles of literary London. To Desmond MacCarthy, writing under the pseudonym 'Affable Hawk' in his regular review section of *The New Statesman*, Murry's first editorial was composed by 'one who has suddenly become ashamed of being "a high-brow" without becoming anything else'; MacCarthy argued that Murry was in danger of throwing away 'his fine gifts as a literary connoisseur' in favour of becoming a dubious 'moral prophet'.[22] This was followed by another article in *The New Statesman* by Raymond Mortimer in July 1923, denigrating *The Adelphi* for its 'Romanticism'. Virginia Woolf signalled the mood of 'Bloomsbury' when she recorded in her diary a conversation with her husband and MacCarthy in which they discussed their deep unease about Murry's willingness to act like 'a revivalist preacher' in writing frankly and publicly about his own spiritual crises and personal 'revelations' following Mansfield's death.[23] And yet, it was precisely this willingness to be forthright and open that attracted so many readers to Murry's

[20] Murry, 'A Month After', p. 90.
[21] Figures from Michael H. Whitworth, 'Enemies of Cant: *The Athenaeum* (1919-21) and *The Adelphi* (1923-48)' in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Volume I: Britain and Ireland, 1880-1955*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 379.
[22] Affable Hawk [Desmond MacCarthy], 'Books in General' in *New Statesman*, 21 (June 9, 1923), p. 270.
[23] Virginia Woolf, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 2, ed. by Anne Olivier Bell (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), pp. 252-3.

magazine. Like *The New Age* before it, as observed by Carswell, *The Adelphi* had a significant impact outside London, and especially in the Methodist and nonconformist communities in the north of England, 'where its vaguely religious and cultural message, mixed with modernity, struck home for those with a chapel childhood and an adolescence of doubt mingled with regret'.[24] To these readers, Murry's unashamed foregrounding of his own spiritual experience and his rhetoric of cultural democratisation were immensely appealing. Whilst *The Adelphi* may have been anathema to the cultural elite of London, therefore, it proved incredibly popular more widely; and the central place afforded to Lawrence, the preeminent 'regional' modernist of his day, was integral to this appeal.

In the first instance, *The Adelphi* was established as an organ for Lawrence's work. The first issues of the magazine serialised chapters from the *Fantasia*, as well as some of Lawrence's poems and the travelogues written in New Mexico. In particular, Lawrence's writings helped to add weight to Murry's otherwise vague editorial philosophy; Lawrence promoted an individualist concept of religious experience that chimed well with Murry's ambiguous 'faith in life'. In his most controversial article for *The Adelphi* (in which he labelled Jesus a 'failure'), for example, Lawrence argued that 'man is responsible to God alone' and 'must carry forward the banner of life'.[25] Elsewhere, he argued that 'the wholeness of our being' could be found in the 'Holy Ghost within us' and that '[e]very man must live as far as he can by his own soul's conscience. To submit the conscience to a creed, or an idea, or a tradition, or even an impulse, is our ruin'.[26] In a passage that undoubtedly provided the origin for Murry's own desire to 'be alone' in February 1923, Lawrence wrote:

> [T]o be alone with one's own soul! This, and the joy of it, is the real goal of love. My own soul and myself. Not my ego, my conceit of myself. But my very soul. To be at one in my

[24] John Carswell, *Lives and Letters: A.R. Orage, Beatrice Hastings, Katherine Mansfield, John Middleton Murry, S.S. Koteliansky, 1906-1957* (London: Faber, 1978), p. 199.
[25] Lawrence, 'Education and Sex' in *Adelphi*, 1.2 (July 1923), p. 135.
[26] Lawrence, 'On Love and Marriage' in *Adelphi*, 1.4 (Sept. 1923), p. 308.

> own self. Not to be questing any more. Not to be yearning, seeking, hoping, desiring, aspiring. But to pause and be alone.[27]

These ideas provided the philosophical basis for *The Adelphi*. As Murry wrote in the fifth issue of the magazine, 'I follow Mr. D. H. Lawrence into rebellion, and carry my small flag in the shadow of his sombre-splendid banner'.[28]

By his own account, Murry established *The Adelphi* both as a vehicle for Lawrence's ideas and as a journal that would later become Lawrence's own. The idea was to 'prepare a place' for Lawrence when he eventually returned to England from New Mexico: 'I neither desired, nor intended, to remain editor of it. I was, in my own eyes, simply *locum tenens*, literally lieutenant, for Lawrence; and I waited eagerly for his coming'.[29] This is highlighted in the first number of *The Adelphi*, when Murry writes that 'I am only a *locum tenens* for a better man'.[30] However, Lawrence was far from enthusiastic about *The Adelphi*. Rather than encouraging him to return to England, it appeared that the magazine in fact strengthened his resolve to stay in New Mexico. On receiving the first number, for example, he wrote to Koteliansky that he was 'badly disappointed' with the magazine, which seemed 'so weak, apologetic, knock-kneed, with really nothing to justify its existence'.[31] 'Is this the best possible in England?' he asked with exasperation.[32] In February 1924, he wrote to Murry: 'Your articles in the *Adelphi* always annoy me […] Can't you focus yourself outside yourself? Not forever focussed on yourself, ad nauseam?'[33] Later that year, Lawrence further berated Murry, viciously responding to what he characterised as the 'little yellow cry from your liver' (a reference to the colour of the magazine's cover):

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[27] Ibid. 311.
[28] Murry, 'On Waiting' in *Adelphi*, 1.5 (Oct. 1923), p. 364.
[29] Quoted in Whitworth, p. 376.
[30] Murry, 'The Cause Of It All', p. 9.
[31] Lawrence, *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, vol. 4, p. 462.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid. 572.

> Why in the name of hell didn't you rouse up a bit, last January, and put a bit of gunpowder in your stuff and fire a shot or two. But you preferred to be soft, and go on stirring your own finger in your own vitals […] Spunk is what one wants, not introspective sentiment. The last is your vice. You rot your manhood to the roots, with it.[34]

By contrast, Lawrence was relieved to find that *The Criterion* had some 'guts'.[35] By early 1926, he completely severed his ties with the magazine: 'I can't go between the yellow covers of the *Adelphi* without taking on a tinge of yellow which is all right in itself, but not my colour for me'.[36] After this, whilst Murry continued to publish his writings, Lawrence exhibited no sense of personal commitment to *The Adelphi* and certainly had no intention of returning to England to become its editor.

A significant contributing factor to Lawrence's objection to *The Adelphi* was Murry's tireless publication of Mansfield's literary remains. 'Murry's *Adelphi* came', he wrote to his US publisher, Thomas Seltzer, in mid-June 1923. 'How feeble it is! Oh God, am I going back to Europe to that? […] I don't feel like supporting the knock-kneed *Adelphi*, Katharine [sic] Mansfield's ugly bits'.[37] Murry probably succeeded in alienating Lawrence further when, in the third issue of the magazine, published in August, he paid this dubious compliment: 'Mr. Lawrence […] is become, since Katherine Mansfield's death, incomparably the most important English writer of his generation'.[38] Lawrence showed his frustration with what he perceived to be this inflated judgement of Mansfield's talents when he wrote thanking Murry for a copy of *The Dove's Nest and Other Stories* in October: 'Poor Katharine [sic], she is delicate and touching. – But not *Great*! Why say great?'[39] And, sending the book to a friend

[34] Lawrence, *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, vol. 5, ed. by James T. Boulton and Lindeth Vasey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 170.
[35] Ibid. 181.
[36] Ibid. 385.
[37] Lawrence, *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, vol. 4, p. 458.
[38] Murry, 'Religion and Faith' in *Adelphi*, 1.3 (Aug. 1923), p. 183.
[39] Lawrence, *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, vol. 4, p. 521.

in New York, Lawrence made clear: 'I think it's a downright cheek to ask the public to buy that waste-paper basket'.[40]

Whilst *The Adelphi* may have been founded in the first instance as a vehicle for Lawrence's ideas, the centrality of Mansfield's image and writings suggests a different editorial impulse: as Michael Whitworth has observed, 'early readers may not have perceived the magazine so simply' and may 'have taken it to be as much inspired by Katherine Mansfield as by Lawrence'.[41] Indeed, the frontispiece to the first issue of the magazine was a previously unpublished photograph of Mansfield, which seemed to indicate that she was the divining spirit behind the new venture. As well as publishing Mansfield's 'The Samuel Josephs' in the first issue, Murry also promised his readers that from the next issue 'we shall begin to publish Katherine Mansfield's "Journal"'.[42] From then until as late as August 1924, not a single issue of *The Adelphi* appeared without including something by Mansfield.

What seems to have helped persuade Murry to begin the magazine, as Galya Diment has observed, was not only the idea that it could function as a vehicle for the serialisation of Lawrence's *Fantasia* but the idea 'that the initial issues of *The Adelphi* could honour Mansfield's memory'.[43] Indeed, in later accounts to his friends, Koteliansky liked to justify the project 'as a gesture of posthumous tribute to Katherine Mansfield'.[44] *The Adelphi* was established as an act of memorialisation and tribute to Mansfield, then; as such, it became the most important forum for the posthumous publication of her writings, to such an extent that – even though she was dead – she could be considered to be one of the magazine's most prolific contributors. Whilst Murry was by far the most frequent contributor to *The Adelphi* in

[40] Ibid. 503.
[41] Whitworth, pp. 376-7.
[42] Murry, 'The Cause Of It All', p. 11.
[43] Galya Diment, *A Russian Jew of Bloomsbury: The Life and Times of Samuel Koteliansky* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), p. 143.
[44] Ibid.

the period from 1923 to 1927, as Whitworth notes, he was followed in frequency first by Mansfield and then Lawrence.[45]

This idea that the magazine could function as an act of memorialisation is signalled in the issue for January 1924, which commemorates the anniversary of Mansfield's death with an opening poem by Murry, titled 'In Memory of Katherine Mansfield'. In his introduction to *The Dove's Nest*, published the previous year, Murry had developed the theme of 'purity' at the expense of other qualities that had endeared Mansfield to others; in his poem, he continued to develop this theme and to cultivate also the idea of Mansfield as childlike. Murry describes Mansfield as 'a perfect thing' and 'a child withouten stain': 'And so she wandered, looking upon the world / Wildered as one who knew not where to love, / Save in the shining dreams of memory curled / About her child heart'.[46]

Subsequently, *The Adelphi* continued to advance the idea of Mansfield as a writer of the 'child heart'. Of the twenty-one poems and nine short stories by Mansfield that Murry published in his first period as editor of the magazine between 1923 and 1930, most were devoted to the theme of childhood, including: 'The Samuel Josephs' (an extract from the beginning of 'Prelude'), the six 'Poems of Childhood' published in August 1923, 'The Little Girl' (first published in *Rhythm* in 1912), 'A Suburban Fairy Tale' (in which a little boy turns into a sparrow), 'Something Childish but Very Natural' (serialised in two parts), 'See-Saw' (in which a boy and girl play make-believe), and 'Three Children' (three unfinished stories about childhood, written in the period 1921-2). Not one of the short stories by Mansfield that appeared in *The Adelphi* exhibited her savage wit, irreverence, or proficiency for merciless parody. Instead, the magazine promoted the notion of her authorial innocence.

[45] Whitworth, p. 384.
[46] Murry, 'In Memory of Katherine Mansfield' in *Adelphi*, 1.8 (Jan. 1924), pp. 663-5.

This emphasis on Mansfield's 'innocence' served to silence her feminist politics; in her contributions to *The New Age*, for example, Mansfield had consistently challenged the idealisation of female 'purity' and the conformity to rigid gender stereotypes. In *The Adelphi*, however, Murry fostered an image of Mansfield as religious, saintly, and pure of soul. In the second issue of the magazine, for example, Murry published Mansfield's elegiac poem 'To L. H. B. (1894-1915)' in which she imagines the ghostly visitation of her dead brother:

> Last night for the first time since you were dead
> I walked with you, my brother, in a dream. […]
> By the remembered stream my brother stands
> Waiting for me with berries in his hands.
> "These are my body. Sister, take and eat."[47]

This poem functions in this issue of *The Adelphi* as an intertextual echo of Murry's own description in his editorial of Mansfield's visitation to him and 'presence' in the Sussex cottage. As such, the poem aligns Mansfield's pseudo-religious experience with Murry's own, serving as a literary precedent that legitimises his mystical awakening. Published after this poem in *The Adelphi* are a series of journal extracts by Mansfield that all focus on her renewed commitment to writing following her brother's death. Among these extracts is a passage in which Mansfield imagines seeing her dead brother:

> [L]ast evening he called me while I sat down by the fire. At last I obeyed and came upstairs. I stayed in the dark and waited. […] [W]hen I leaned out of the window I seemed to see my brother dotted all over the field – now on his back, now on his face, now huddled up, now half-pressed into the earth. Wherever I looked, there he lay. I felt that God showed him to me

[47] Mansfield, 'To L. H. B. (1894-1915)' in *Adelphi*, 1.2 (July 1923), p. 136.

> like that for some express purpose, and I knelt down by the bed. But I could not pray. I had done no work. I was not in an active state of grace.[48]

Again, the shared detail of sitting by the fire before seeing or feeling the 'presence' of a dead loved one links Mansfield's experience with Murry's description in his editorial. In another journal extract selected by Murry for publication in *The Adelphi*, Mansfield begins by imploring her brother to 'Awake, awake! my little boy': 'I want to write down the fact that not only am I not afraid of death – I welcome the idea of death. I believe in immortality because he is not here, and I long to join him'.[49] Consistently employing the trope of immortality and the spectral return, Mansfield's writings about her brother published in *The Adelphi* supported spiritual notions of a communion between the living and the dead.

In his article 'Lost Secrets', for example, Murry declares that '[t]o hold the great opposites together, in our minds and in our souls, as of equal truth and equal potency, to stand fast by *all* our knowledge, however contradictory it may seem – is the road to victory':

> Of all the great oppositions, the opposition between life and death is the one that sits closest to us; moreover, it includes the others, because all that we may be and therefore all that we may know, depends upon our attitude to this. If men could overcome death, not by falsely representing it as life, but by accepting it for what it is – "Death is life's high meed" – their inheritance in life would be changed.[50]

Murry argues that 'we […] must begin with death. We have to know death in order to know life'.[51] This focus is demonstrated in *The Adelphi* when Murry imagines the conversation he would have had with William Archer, a reader of the magazine who had written a letter to Murry before he died; in this article, Murry literally imagines himself communing with the

[48] Mansfield, 'Extracts from a Journal' in *Adelphi*, 1.2 (July 1923), pp. 142-3.
[49] Ibid. 138
[50] Murry, 'Lost Secrets' in *Adelphi*, 2.4 (Sept. 1924), p. 285.
[51] Ibid. 286

dead.[52] Murry uses this imagined conversation to illuminate his 'profound and ineradicable belief' that elements of personality are immortal; that there is 'a core of living reality' that can be glimpsed in 'strange inward tremors of the human being [that] can be ascribed only to something which we at once are and are not'.[53] In another article, likewise, he writes: 'Life, spelled with a capital, is life *and* death. That Life goes on; that Life we have to serve; that is the Life we touch through the contemplation and acceptance of death'.[54] There then follows an extract by Mansfield titled 'Evening', in which she reflects upon her conversations with her brother before his death. In this way, Mansfield's selected posthumous writings in *The Adelphi* served to advance the quasi-religious idea of spiritual immortality.

Throughout the 1920s and '30s, *The Adelphi* continued to emphasise Mansfield's 'religious' and 'spiritual' qualities. In a review of her journal, for example, H. M. Tomlinson wrote of Mansfield's 'beauty' and purity, describing her 'clear soul' and 'clear spirit': 'No saint ever more ruthlessly handled his body, to let it know its place, than K.M. did her mind'; '[r]eligion for her was the practice of her art. It was her testimony. It had to be genuine'.[55] Previously, in the weeks following Mansfield's death, Tomlinson had written in *The Nation and the Athenaeum* that Mansfield 'was hardly corporeal' and possessed a beauty that was 'unearthly'; that she occupied a 'place above good and evil' and had the 'power' of 'divination which is supposed to belong to those not quite of this world'; in short, that she 'stood between this world and the next'.[56] As one of the founding 'brothers' of *The Adelphi* (together with Murry, his brother Philip Tomlinson, Koteliansky, and Sullivan), Tomlinson's notion of Mansfield as an 'unearthly' spiritual presence mediating 'between this world and the next' was also clearly central to the cultivation of the 'Mansfield myth' in the magazine.

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[52] Murry, 'William Archer and the Survival of Personality' in *Adelphi*, 2.10 (March 1925)
[53] Murry, 'Personality and Immortality' in *Adelphi*, 2.12 (May 1925), p. 953.
[54] Murry, 'The Second Religiousness' in *Adelphi*, 4.4 (Oct. 1926), p. 209.
[55] H. M. Tomlinson, 'Katherine Mansfield' in *New Adelphi*, 1.1 (Sept. 1927), pp. 94-6.
[56] Tomlinson, 'Katherine Mansfield' in *Nation and the Athenaeum*, 32 (Jan. 20, 1923), p. 609.

These ideas were reiterated across *The Adelphi*. Reviewing the biography of Mansfield by Ruth Mantz and Murry in 1932, for instance, J. P. Hogan also described Mansfield as a 'unique and lovely spirit': 'Katherine Mansfield *was*. She did not seek to formulate life and joy and pain and God and art; she experienced them' and her 'life, indeed, dramatises the supremacy of an artistic imagination which sees God in all things'.[57]

This emphasis on 'experiencing' God echoed ideas across *The Adelphi* that were formulated in the debate between Murry and Eliot delineating the opposition between 'Romanticism' and 'Classicism'. In *The Adelphi*, Murry consistently promoted the idea of 'the interdependence of literature and religion'.[58] In this, he took his cue from Lawrence, who wrote in *The Adelphi*: 'get a glimpse of this new relation of men and women to the great God of the End, who is the father, not the Son, of all our beginnings: and you get a glimpse of the new literature'.[59] Just as Sullivan's essay in the first issue of the magazine, 'On Being Oneself', empowered readers to follow their own individual predilections and tastes rather than defer to an approved, official canon of literature, then, *The Adelphi* advanced an individualist concept of religion, in which faith was arrived at through personal experience rather than the doctrines of the established Church. Murry argued that 'the man who believes in God does not need a Church'; that whilst 'a man needs both authority and tradition […] it is best for him to find them out for himself'; and that God 'cannot, in the ordinary sense of the word, be *known*, but only experienced'.[60] As Goldie has observed, 'Murry's adoption of an extreme individualist position, and his attempt to subsume the study of literature into a broader, religiously informed "criticism of life"' prompted Eliot to 'drop his earlier reticence and engage in the polemic in which his, and the *Criterion*'s, principles would become

[57] J. P. Hogan, 'The Life of Katherine Mansfield' in *Adelphi*, 7.3 (December 1932), p. 232.
[58] Murry, 'On Fear; and On Romanticism' in *Adelphi*, 1.4 (Sept. 1923), p. 276.
[59] Lawrence, 'The Proper Study' in *Adelphi*, 1.7 (Dec. 1923), p. 589.
[60] Murry, 'Religion and Christianity' in *Adelphi*, 1.8 (Jan. 1924), p. 670; 'Quo Warranto?' in *Adelphi*, 2.3 (Aug. 1924), p. 190; 'The "Classical" Revival (II.)' in *Adelphi*, 3.10 (March 1926), p. 653.

articulated'.[61] In his editorial for *The Criterion* in the month following the first issue of *The Adelphi*, for instance, Eliot defined 'The Function of a Literary Review' by directly responding to Murry's editorial, denouncing the 'insidious catchword: "life"'.[62] Whereas Murry promoted the idea of 'inner voice' as the basis for literary criticism and religious experience, Eliot became a champion of external authority and tradition.[63] Spurred on by this debate, the two writers provoked each other into adopting the increasingly polarised positions of 'Romanticism' and 'Classicism'. Called upon to define his beliefs in 1924, for example, Murry described them as 'romantic through and through: in politics it is a tradition of individualism, in religion of protestantism, and in literature of romanticism'.[64] This was diametrically opposed to Eliot's pronouncement four years later that he was 'classicist in literature, royalist in politics, and anglo-catholic in religion'.[65] In *The Adelphi*, Murry incorporated Mansfield's writings into this debate, idealising her as a 'unique and lovely spirit' who had *experienced* God.

Notably, Murry also connected 'Romanticism' with an English national tradition in *The Adelphi*. In the piece he composed in response to Mortimer's article in *The New Statesman*, for example, Murry happily accepted the term 'Romanticism' to describe himself and his magazine, offering this clarification:

> In England there never has been any classicism worth talking about: we have had classics, but no classicism. And all our classics are romantic. That is to say, the *decorum* the great English writers naturally observe is one that they fetch out of the depths in themselves. It is not imposed by tradition or authority.[66]

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[61] David Goldie, *A Critical Difference: T. S. Eliot and John Middleton Murry in English Literary Criticism, 1919-1928* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 95-6.
[62] T. S. Eliot, 'The Function of a Literary Review' in *Criterion*, 1.4 (July 1923), p. 421.
[63] Murry, 'On Fear; and On Romanticism' in *Adelphi*, 1.4 (Sept. 1923), p. 275.
[64] Murry, 'In Defence of the "Adelphi"' in *Spectator*, 5003 (May 17, 1924), p. 785.
[65] Eliot, *For Lancelot Andrewes: Essays on Style and Order* (London: 1928), p. 7.
[66] Murry, 'On Fear; and On Romanticism', pp. 274-5.

The previous month, as already noted, he had written that Lawrence had 'become, since Katherine Mansfield's death, incomparably the most important *English* writer of his generation'. Clearly, then, both Lawrence and Mansfield belonged to the 'English' tradition that Murry was outlining in his expositions of 'Romanticism' at this time. Murry argued that there is 'a tradition in English life and English literature' that 'is not formulated or formulable' but 'is something you have to sense by intuition, if you are to know it at all'.[67] The English writer 'inherit[s] no rules from their forebears: they inherit only this: a sense that in the last resort they must depend upon the inner voice' and 'dig deep' in their 'pursuit of self-knowledge'.[68] 'Romanticism is the discovery and discrimination of inward reality' and 'individualism – which is only another name for Romanticism – is in our British bones':

> Romanticism, as I have tried to describe it, is itself the English tradition: it is national, and it is the secret source of our own peculiar vitality. In England it is the classicist who is the interloper and the alien.[69]

Murry was clearly taking aim at the expatriate 'interloper' from Missouri, T. S. Eliot. Yet, by associating Mansfield with the 'English tradition', Murry also carried out an incredible feat of rewriting biographical fact. Whilst Murry didn't shy away from making reference to Mansfield's New Zealand origins, and included writings in *The Adelphi* that made this clear, he attempted to present her 'alien' colonial identity as tangential to her more binding association, as he perceived it, with an English national tradition of individualist Romanticism.

Linking Romanticism and Englishness ever more unequivocally, Murry began to see England as nothing less than the saviour of world culture. In December 1923, he wrote: 'the

[67] Ibid. 275.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid. 275-6.

fact that the soul of England is an *anima naturaliter romantic* points to the likelihood that England has a great part to play in the immediate future of mankind':

> [I]t is part of my creed that England has a mission; because I believe that the real continuity of the Western consciousness is preserved in her alone. […] England is still living, still organically evolving. And she has no need of the restraining influences of a classicism that has no root in the English soul.[70]

Given that the 'compass by which we may steer across the uncharted ocean of the future […] is a true individualism' that belongs to England alone, Murry argued, 'England will yet show the way out of the confusion that has fallen upon the West'.[71] This increasingly national viewpoint is further highlighted in an article titled 'Patriotism *Is* Enough' in which Murry reflects upon what 'troubled' him when reading the work of an unnamed Indian poet:

> What troubled me, I concluded, was a constant hiatus that I felt between the language and the thought, between the expression and the experience. The poet was using English words to convey what English words never could convey. It was not that other English words than those he used would have done the work better: on the contrary, his diction was surprisingly felicitous. The truth was that no English words could possibly convey what he wanted them to convey, and no doubt supposed that they did convey.[72]

Only the native Englishman can access the subtleties of the English language and intuit a way into the unformulated English literary tradition, Murry argues. Reading these poems, he concludes that 'there is an abyss' between 'the Indian poet's consciousness and mine': 'I have been brought up against a racial otherness', he writes, and 'it repels me'.[73] This is a far cry from the celebration in *Rhythm* of diversity and difference as cultural rejuvenators.

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[70] Murry, 'More About Romanticism' in *Adelphi*, 1.7 (Dec. 1923), p. 565.
[71] Murry, 'A Divagation on Politics' in *Adelphi*, 3.1 (June 1925), p. 11.
[72] Murry, 'Patriotism *Is* Enough' in *Adelphi*, 4.5 (Nov. 1926), p. 271.
[73] Ibid. 272-3.

Instead, with reprehensible racism, Murry writes of the Indian poet as being 'backboneless' like 'the snake'.[74]

As Kaplan has argued, Murry's increasingly solipsistic nationalism is indicative of 'the same kind of withdrawal from cosmopolitan modernism to a localised, England-centred "shrinking island" that Jed Esty discerns in the writings of the later Woolf and Eliot'.[75] Indeed, the 'shrinking island' was a metaphor that Murry himself used to describe the 'singular experience' in the Sussex cottage: 'I became aware of myself as a little island against whose slender shores a cold, dark, boundless ocean lapped devouring'. The turn inwards of personal introspection by which Murry defined 'Romanticism' and outlined the tenets of *The Adelphi*, then, was symptomatic of his more profound withdrawal from 'the world without': from the avant-garde cosmopolitanism of *Rhythm*, or the internationalism of *The Athenaeum*, to England-centred nationalism.[76] As Kaplan suggests, this nationalism is also indicative of Murry's break with 'modernist' literature.

Identifying his magazine in opposition to the intellectuals of Bloomsbury, Murry argued that 'Classicism' was characterised by the 'absolute scepticism' of the following writers:

> Mr. Lytton Strachey, Mrs. Virginia Woolf, Mr. Aldous Huxley, Mr. David Garnett, and Mr. T. S. Eliot. Mr. Strachey, Mr. Garnett, and Mr. Huxley do indeed belong together, though there are signs of incipient *malaise* in Mr. Huxley: but Mrs. Virginia Woolf and Mr. Eliot are of another kind. They are serious, while the others are cynical, "classicists."[77]

Regarding *Mrs. Dalloway* and 'The Waste Land', Murry makes the naive and narrow-minded prediction: 'Fifty, ten years hence no one will take the trouble (no small one) to read either of

[74] Ibid. 272.
[75] Kaplan, *Circulating Genius*, p. 210.
[76] Murry, 'Two Worlds' in *Adelphi*, 1.10 (March 1924), p. 859.
[77] Murry, 'The "Classical" Revival' in *Adelphi*, 3.9 (Feb. 1926), p. 589.

these works'.[78] Similarly, in November 1923, Murry wrote an article in which he stated that Proust and Joyce 'are nothing. Landmarks, perhaps, to tell me twice again that the intellectual consciousness is utterly *kaput*'.[79] Murry reiterated this opinion three years later, in September 1926, when he compared Proust and Joyce with Lawrence and Forster: 'purposeless knowing' and 'purposeless being' is what 'finds expression in Proust and Joyce', he writes, whereas 'Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Forster stand together because they are in their different ways acutely aware of this condition'.[80]

Associating Mansfield with the anti-traditional tradition of Romanticism, therefore, Murry was arguably responsible for placing her outside the developing canon of modernist literature that took shape throughout the 1920s and '30s. By implicitly designating Mansfield as a 'Romantic', moreover, Murry placed her writings within an explicitly *national* English tradition, eliding reference to her troubled colonial status and ambiguous nationality. Placed within this tradition, Mansfield's writings were also associated with English nonconformist religion, with Murry's saintly idealisation of her as innocent and 'pure' also serving to erase Mansfield's sexual past, her queer identities, and her radical eschewal of gender stereotypes. This image of Mansfield had a profound influence upon later critics, especially in France, where the 'Mansfield myth' remained entrenched well into the late twentieth century.

Conclusion

Richard Rees, who worked as an assistant to Murry on *The Adelphi* before himself becoming editor of the magazine, described Murry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as having

[78] Ibid. 590.
[79] The Journeyman [Murry], 'Novels and Thought-Adventures' in *Adelphi*, 1.6 (Nov. 1923), p. 536.
[80] [Murry], 'Lemonade?' in *Adelphi*, 4.3 (Sept. 1926), pp. 144-6.

been 'one of the best hated men of letters'.[81] This characterisation hasn't changed much in the intervening years, especially among Mansfield and Lawrence scholars. Clearly, Murry's tireless publication of Mansfield's literary remains was self-serving to a degree; the whole viability of *The Adelphi* as a publishing venture, for example, arguably depended upon the royalties he gained from Mansfield's estate in 1924.[82] Furthermore, as has been examined in this chapter, the image of Mansfield that Murry propagated in *The Adelphi* was highly one-sided, smoothing over ambiguity and contradiction in favour of presenting the saintly 'child heart' who was 'pure' of soul or the 'English' rose free from the anxieties of colonial ambivalence. Yet, as this concluding section of the chapter argues, such mythologising and 'remembering' was paradigmatic rather than exceptional of the editorial practices by which early twentieth-century literature was codified and institutionalised within magazines from the 1920s onwards. To illustrate this, and to situate Murry's cultivation of the 'Mansfield myth' within a wider history of periodical culture, this concluding section of the chapter compares *The Adelphi* with an eclectic little magazine titled *Adam International Review*.

Edited from 1939 until 1995 by Miron Grindea, a Romanian émigré to Britain, *Adam International Review* was a magazine synonymous with the *inédit* and was renowned for publishing previously unseen work and ephemera. Amongst his most significant editorial coups, Grindea published letters from Dickens to the Count D'Orsay, drawings and an essay by Proust, a play by Sartre, and even an unseen cadenza by Mozart; among the material that Grindea acquired but failed to publish were writings by Dylan Thomas, Samuel Beckett, and the short story and aphorisms by Mansfield included as appendices to this thesis. Grindea was a man driven by personal obsessions, and each of his subjects received a level of bio-bibliographical attention rarely seen in other magazines: Proust alone, for instance, was the focus of eight special issues of *Adam*. In the early 1960s, Grindea turned his attention to

[81] Quoted by Miron Grindea, 'Only one K.M.?' in *Adam International Review*, 370-5 (1972-3), p. 9.
[82] Whitworth, p. 380.

Mansfield, publishing a lavish celebratory issue in 1965 that contained forty-six previously unpublished letters by Mansfield to Anne Estelle Rice and to Sydney and Violet Schiff, as well as reminiscence articles by Dorothy Brett and Rice, the latter titled 'Memories of Katherine Mansfield'. In his editorial to this issue, Grindea also emphasised the importance of Ida Baker's memoirs and detailed his extensive researches into the life and work of Beatrice Hastings, publishing two previously unknown portraits of her by Modigliani that he had tracked down (Figure 16 is one of these).

Grindea then followed this with a special issue of *Adam* devoted entirely to Mansfield, published in 1973 to mark fifty years since her death (Figure 35). This number contains previously unpublished letters from Mansfield to Virginia Woolf, Bertrand Russell, and Murry's brother Richard, as well as several pieces of juvenilia (introduced by Margaret Scott), six previously unpublished poems, reminiscences from Mansfield's sister Jeanne, Dorothy Brett (again), and Juliette Huxley, as well as several essays, including two by Ruth Mantz and one by Sylvia Berkman. In his editorial to this issue, Grindea observes that Mansfield is 'an obsessively fascinating theme which, like Proust, refuses to leave us alone' and he also makes some 'disparate, possibly useful footnotes' for any future biographer:

> What is needed is a fresh attempt to unveil those individual qualities which made her such a hauntingly mysterious character and which now, fifty years after her death, continue to fascinate those who are drawn to her writings.[83]

Titled 'Only one K.M.?', Grindea's editorial gestures towards the revisionism of the 1960s and '70s that was reshaping the image of Mansfield as a 'polymorphous poseuse'; an early twentieth-century writer whose work could speak to the contemporary critical concerns of

[83] Grindea, 'Only one K.M.?', pp. 2; 18.

second-wave feminism and postcolonial studies.[84] Consistently emphasising the importance of recording individual 'memories' and recollections of Mansfield, and positioning her as a 'hauntingly mysterious' presence across the magazine, however, Grindea also reaffirmed the idea advanced within *The Adelphi* of a spiritual communion between the living and the dead.

This communion was facilitated in *Adam* by the editorial accumulation of literary ephemera and fragments. In the first instance, therefore, the case study of *Adam* highlights the importance of collecting practices in the institutionalisation of early twentieth-century modernism. In his recent book *Collecting as Modernist Practice*, Jeremy Braddock has identified what he calls a 'collecting aesthetic' in modernist art, citing Pound's 'Cantos' and Eliot's 'The Waste Land' as examples, as well as avant-garde art forms such as futurist painting, synthetic cubism, and Dada.[85] This 'collecting aesthetic', Braddock argues, was mirrored in collecting practices such as archiving, museum display, and anthologisation, which were integral to the institutionalisation of modernism throughout the mid twentieth century: the collection, Braddock writes, 'assimilates the "fragments" shored against Eliot's "ruins", or is a means of "creating a usable past", in the words of Van Wyck Brooks's 1918 essay' published in *The Dial*.[86] Furthermore, Braddock employs Jean Baudrillard's definition of the collection as 'a discourse addressed to oneself' when he argues that collecting is 'a mode of subject formation': 'a material collection is itself an aesthetic object' as well as being 'an *authored work*'.[87]

Adam epitomises the magazine-as-collection, in which the *inédit* fragment creates a usable past with which to trace a genealogy of modernism. Inseparable from the identity of its editor, moreover, *Adam* was most definitely an 'authored work': constituted from a

[84] Brigid Brophy, 'Katherine Mansfield' in *London Magazine*, 2.9 (Dec. 1962), 41-7; reprinted in *The Critical Response to Katherine Mansfield*, ed. by Jan Pilditch (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996), p. 89.
[85] Jeremy Braddock, *Collecting as Modernist Practice* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2012), p. 2.
[86] Ibid. 6.
[87] Ibid. 2; 6.

particular vantage point, the genealogy that the magazine traces is only ever partial and is prejudiced towards the personal 'obsessions' of its editor; in this way, the magazine generates its own image or 'mythology' of modernism, one which focuses on Proust, for example, and the artistic movements of Continental Europe. In this context, Murry's tireless publication of Mansfield's literary remains in *The Adelphi* is paradigmatic, rather than exceptional, of the methodology by which early twentieth-century modernist literature was codified and institutionalised in magazines from the 1920s onwards. In particular, printing Mansfield's unpublished ephemera enabled Murry to trace his own history of early twentieth-century literature and to assimilate Mansfield's writings into the trajectory of 'Romanticism'.

In collecting ephemera as a way of creating a usable past, however, Murry in fact underlined points of synergy between his 'Romanticism' and the 'Classicism' of Eliot. As Jean-Michel Rabaté has observed about the essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', 'the logical consequence of Eliot's idea of an "ideal order" of all works of art, in which all the proportions, relations, and values are readjusted as soon as a new masterpiece is added' is 'a double paradox': 'not only can "the past be altered by the present"' but also 'dead authors struggle among themselves through the living'; in this sense, 'literature can be described as the working through of the figure of "apophrades," Harold Bloom's coining for the "return of the dead" among the living'.[88] As such, Rabaté argues, 'modernism is systematically "haunted" by voices from the past'; it is haunted by 'the ineluctability of spectral returns'.[89] Whilst he traces a very different tradition to Eliot, as this chapter has examined, Murry's anti-traditional tradition of 'Romanticism' in *The Adelphi* consistently gestures towards the possibility of spectral returns, the immortality of personality, and the 'presence' of the dead. As Rabaté suggests, what 'returns is, in a classically Freudian fashion, what has not been processed, accommodated, incorporated into the self by mourning': 'Modernism postulates

[88] Jean-Michel Rabaté, *The Ghosts of Modernity* (Gainseville: University Press of Florida, 1996), pp. xi-xii.
[89] Ibid. xvi.

both the necessity and the impossibility of mourning', he argues, and 'this applies not only to high modernism but also to a wider history'.[90] As noted in this chapter, Murry distanced himself from modernist literature after Mansfield's death. Whitworth has observed, therefore, that the 'modernism of *The Adelphi* […] needs to be reassessed with reference to a more generous definition of the movement, one which defines modernism primarily as an engagement with the intellectual problems of modernity'.[91] In the context of this wider history, '*The Adelphi* stood for a modernism with its roots in the writings of the Victorian sages and in the individualism of English revolutionary writers and romantic poets'.[92] This was not the 'high modernism' of Eliot that would eventually gain precedence. Nevertheless, Murry's 'Romanticism' was integral to how 'modernist' writers such as Mansfield and Lawrence were subsequently interpreted. Likewise, whilst Eliot looked to position modernist literature within a tradition that stretched back centuries, Murry's elucidation of a recent past of 'Romanticism' was shaped by the same idea of temporal continuity. So often in histories of the period, 'modernism' is defined through the notion of a radical rupture with the past and is characterised as an almost obsessive preoccupation with aesthetic newness. The 'memory' of Mansfield that haunts *The Adelphi* and *Adam* suggests a rather different impulse: an essentially conservative editorial impulse towards nostalgia, mourning, and memorialisation.

The magazine as a publication site that preserves the 'memory' of the author, guaranteeing her posthumous reputation, can be further illustrated by turning attention to Mansfield's 'afterlife' in America. In 1924, when Carl Brandt sent a letter to Eric Pinker, who had acted as Mansfield's literary agent in the last years of her life, he listed the many stories by Mansfield that he had recently tried to place in magazines across the American market. These included 'An Indiscreet Journey', 'The Wrong House', 'Late at Night', 'A

[90] Ibid.
[91] Whitworth, p. 388.
[92] Ibid.

Suburban Fairy Story', 'Bains Turcs', 'Tales of a Courtyard', and 'Spring Pictures', all of which had been sent to the following publications at one time or another: *Harper's*, *Collier's*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *Delineator*, *Designer*, *Pictorial Review*, *Century*, *American Mercury*, *Everybody's*, *McCall's*, *Scribner's*, *Forum*, and *The Dial*. Regarding these stories, Brandt notes: 'I have read them all and am inclined to agree with Carl Van Doren of the *Century* when he says it doesn't do [Mansfield's] memory any particular good to have these particular ones printed'.[93] This view was repeated on several other occasions over the coming years. In August 1926, for example, the assistant editor of *The Nation and the Athenaeum* wrote to Pinker, noting: 'With regard to Katherine Mansfield's story, we have given this careful consideration, but feel that it is too slight an example of her work to justify publication so long after her death'.[94] These examples demonstrate that editors often perceived their role to be one of preserving the 'memory' of the author and judging the value of her work; these examples gesture towards the important function that periodicals and magazines played in the public mediation of Mansfield's posthumous reputation.

This emphasis on 'memory' and 'remembrance' can be traced in a number of articles published after Mansfield's death across a wide range of magazines and periodicals. Whilst literary fragments and 'slight' examples of Mansfield's work were often seen as detrimental to her 'memory', others argued that it was important to conserve such fragments as an act of memorialisation. In several articles on Mansfield, for instance, her friend Sylvia Lynd emphasised the importance of both 'remembrance' and the preservation of literary fragments: 'Remembering has always been the larger part of my affection for Katherine Mansfield', she wrote; '[a] few letters, a few books, a photograph pasted inside the cover of one of them, these only remain – and remembering remains'.[95] Furthermore, the marking of time

[93] James B. Pinker Papers, Northwestern University (Box 23, Folder 27)
[94] Ibid.
[95] Sylvia Lynd, 'Katherine Mansfield' in *Weekly Westminster Gazette*, 1.49 (Jan. 20, 1923), p. 12.

contained within the title to the 1973 special issue of *Adam* ('Katherine Mansfield – fifty years after'), is indicative of a constant refrain that echoes throughout articles on Mansfield. Writing in *The Criterion* in 1929, for instance, Orlo Williams observed: 'Had she now been alive, Katherine Mansfield would only have been forty years old. She belongs to our day'.[96] In *The Nation*, Katherine Anne Porter begins an article on Mansfield: 'This past fourteenth of October would have been Katherine Mansfield's forty-ninth birthday. This year is the fifteenth since her death'.[97] Likewise, in *The New Statesman and Nation*, V. S. Pritchett begins: 'Twenty-three years have passed since the death of Katherine Mansfield'.[98] And Elizabeth Bowen writes in the *Cornhill Magazine*: 'If Katherine Mansfield were living, she would this year be sixty-eight'.[99] Marking dates, the length of time passed, and the age Mansfield would have been if she had lived all function as entry points for evaluating Mansfield's significance, assessing the value of her work, and speculating upon the writings she may have produced if she had lived. In this sense, the mediation of Mansfield's 'memory' in mid twentieth-century magazines supports Tammy Clewell's argument that nostalgia functions 'as an *interpretative stance*, one that mediates the interplay between the individual and collective, continuity and rupture, memory and desire' (my emphasis).[100] Whilst Murry's mourning for Mansfield in *The Adelphi* was an individual and deeply personal affair, for example, it also provided an interpretative stance in the magazine that shaped how others subsequently read Mansfield's work and responded to the 'Mansfield myth'.

Whilst writers such as Edith Sitwell and Virginia Woolf reiterated Murry's emphasis on Mansfield's feminine 'delicacy' and spiritual 'sensitivity', for example, other contributors

[96] Orlo Williams, 'Katherine Mansfield' in *Criterion*, 8.32 (April 1929), p. 508.
[97] Katherine Anne Porter, 'The Art of Katherine Mansfield' in *Nation*, 145 (Oct. 23, 1937), p. 45.
[98] V. S. Pritchett, 'Books in General' in *New Statesman and Nation*, 31.780 (Feb. 2, 1946), p. 87.
[99] Elizabeth Bowen, 'A Living Writer' in *Cornhill Magazine*, 1010 (Winter 1956-7), 120-30; reprinted in *The Critical Response to Katherine Mansfield*, p. 70.
[100] Tammy Clewell, 'Introduction: Past "Perfect" and Present "Tense": The Abuses and Uses of Modernist Nostalgia' in *Modernism and Nostalgia: Bodies, Locations, Aesthetics*, ed. by Tammy Clewell (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 1.

to magazines and periodicals directly challenged the image of Mansfield propagated within *The Adelphi*.[101] Writing in *The Dial* in November 1923, for example, Alyse Gregory attacked the publication in consecutive numbers of *The Adelphi* of Mansfield's 'poems and excerpts from her journal':

> One wonders if Mr Middleton Murry is wholly aware of the injury he is doing his wife's reputation by treating as sacred every chance scrap of paper on which she recorded her most denuded and transient moods. Like a somnambulant acolyte with bowed head and reverential step he bears the chalice of her fame unconscious that in replenishing it with ever thinner and thinner dilutions he is imperilling the clear wine with which he began his pilgrimage.[102]

Surely the 'mysterious purification of one's inner being' that the writings by Mansfield in *The Adelphi* seem to endorse, Gregory suggests, 'are more in keeping with the attitude of a nun than with the free and fearless pursuit of an artist who follows ever more attentively the dangerous implications of his own developing experience'.[103] Likewise, writing in *The New Republic* in 1937, Kay Boyle argued that 'the work of Katherine Mansfield must be considered as complete or incomplete within itself, shorn of the devoted enthusiasm of a Middleton Murry'.[104] In the same year, Katherine Anne Porter also observed in *The Nation* that 'Mansfield's work is the important fact about her, and she is in danger of the worst fate that an artist can suffer – to be overwhelmed by her own legend'.[105]

This chapter has argued that the 'Mansfield myth' and 'legend' advanced by Murry – of the sentimentalised and ghostly 'child' of purity – owed much to the periodical contexts in

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[101] In 1924, Sitwell described Mansfield's work as 'exquisite, flawless, narrow, sweet', 'delicate', and directed by 'the spiritual state reached through sensation' ('Three Women Writers' in *Vogue* (early Oct. 1924), pp. 81; 114); and in 1927, Woolf described Mansfield's journal as 'a mystical companion' recording 'the spectacle of a mind – a terribly sensitive mind – receiving one after another the haphazard impressions of eight years of life' ('A Terribly Sensitive Mind' in *New York Herald Tribune*, 125 (Sept. 18, 1927), p. 716).
[102] Alyse Gregory, 'Artist or Nun' in *Dial*, 75.5 (Nov. 1923), p. 484.
[103] Ibid. 484-5.
[104] Kay Boyle, 'Katherine Mansfield: A Reconsideration' in *New Republic*, 92.1194 (Oct. 20, 1937), p. 309.
[105] Porter, 'The Art of Katherine Mansfield', p. 435.

which it was first formulated: the publication of selected writings by Mansfield served to support the editorial focus throughout *The Adelphi* on nonconformist religious experience and an 'English' literary tradition of 'Romanticism'. In particular, Murry's emphasis on printing previously unpublished fragments by Mansfield in *The Adelphi* can be contextualised against the editorial practices and methodologies of other mid twentieth-century magazines, such as *Adam*, in which literary ephemera both create a 'useable past' by which to institutionalise a genealogy of modernism and also present a partial picture of the author, shaped to the editor's fixed image of her and motivated by personal 'obsessions'.

In particular, the posthumous publication of writings by Mansfield in *The Adelphi* erased and smoothed over those aspects of ambiguity and radical subversion in her work analysed in the previous chapters of this thesis: of Mansfield the feminist, who outwardly eschewed gender stereotypes of feminine 'purity' and 'saintliness'; of Mansfield the (post)colonial writer, at 'home' neither in the centre nor at the periphery, who consistently negotiated a position for her work between England and New Zealand; and of Mansfield the modernist, whose critical writings indubitably helped to shape the literary innovations of the early 1920s. Furthermore, *The Adelphi* fostered an image of Mansfield as an isolated genius, more in touch with the 'spiritual' world than with the earthly realm of her contemporaries; a 'child withouten stain' rather than a jobbing author deeply embedded in the material contexts in which she produced her work and in the networks of association sustained by periodical culture. In returning to these contexts, and by illuminating some of these networks, this thesis has sought to challenge those aspects of the 'Mansfield myth' identified in this final chapter.

Conclusion

Mansfield and Mediation

In one of the translations that Mansfield produced with Koteliansky for publication in *The Athenaeum*, Anton Chekhov notes: 'The thought that I am writing for a weighty magazine, and that my little thing will be looked upon more seriously than it deserves, keeps on jerking my elbow, as the devil did the monk'.[1] Whether writing for an established and 'weighty' literary journal such as *The Athenaeum*, an avant-garde little magazine such as *Rhythm*, or a periodical positioned somewhere between, such as *The New Age*, Mansfield's periodical contributions consistently bear out this observation that print contexts indelibly shape what a writer produces; that a writer's elbow will always feel the pull and tug of the publication to which they are contributing. For too long, this aspect of Mansfield's writing career has been obfuscated by a reductive form of biographical analysis that interprets her life and work in isolation from the wider contexts of production. By returning to the original print contexts in which Mansfield created the majority of her work, this thesis has sought to recover lines of connection and influence, trace interactions between different contributions, and thereby reveal the extent to which Mansfield composed her writings in conversation with others.

[1] (118) *Writings*, p. 210.

In the first instance, analysing Mansfield's contributions to periodicals and magazines enables us to register the extent to which her writings are laden with meanings that will always remain hidden to the reader who isolates the text from the original print contexts of publication. In the relational model of creation sustained by periodicals and magazines, all contributions have the potential to condition the meanings of other contributions: as such, reading these artefacts enables us to map interactions between writers and to trace patterns of exchange and negotiation that develop over time. Focusing on these interactions, this thesis contributes to a recent upsurge in scholarly examinations of Mansfield's writings against wider historical contexts and the work of her contemporaries. Within recent months, for example, the publication of the edited collection of essays *Katherine Mansfield and Literary Influence* (2015) has positioned Mansfield in connection with her contemporaries, offering new interpretations of her work that respond to the idea of modernism as the product of social and intellectual networks. Similarly, *Shaping Modernism: Katherine Mansfield in Context*, scheduled for publication in 2018, will extend this critical revaluation. *Katherine Mansfield and Periodical Culture* is integral to this renaissance in Mansfield scholarship: providing in-depth and rigorously contextualised analysis, and tracing the ways in which she produced her work in conversation or conflict with that of her contemporaries, this thesis helps to illuminate the extent to which Mansfield's writings are historically embedded in the original print contexts of publication.

This approach to Mansfield's work enables us to reposition her as an important female figure in the history of early twentieth-century periodical culture. Over recent years, increasing attention has been paid to the important and formative role of women writers and editors in the emergence of literary modernism, and 'feminist periodical studies' is now a

burgeoning field of scholarly enquiry.[2] This thesis enlarges this field of enquiry, highlighting the ways in which Mansfield's periodical contributions responded to the suffrage movement and articles about feminism in *The New Age*, for example, or provided a gendered critique of other contributions to *Rhythm*. This thesis also highlights the significance of Mansfield's role as an editor of magazines and periodicals, not just of *Rhythm* and *The Blue Review*, which has been widely recognised, but also of *The Athenaeum*. Whilst Mansfield did not occupy an official position on the editorial staff of the periodical, her letters from 1919-20 demonstrate her major contribution to the running of *The Athenaeum* and illuminate the extent to which her ideas informed the editorial direction and philosophy of the paper.

Focusing on Mansfield's career in the years before the publication of her most successful short story collections *Bliss* (1920) and *The Garden Party* (1922) also helps to challenge the misconception of Mansfield as a writer of limited generic interest who restricted herself to the short story form. Instead, Mansfield's periodical contributions reveal the incredible diversity of genres that she employed throughout her writing career, including the fictionalised travelogue, aphorism, the dialogue for one voice, the parody or satirical sketch, poetry, 'parodic' and co-translations, the editorial essay, and the literary review. This broad focus helps to reorient attention away from Mansfield's later, more celebrated stories, allowing us to consider the extent to which her development as a writer was intrinsically conditioned by her engagement and experimentation with a number of literary forms employed in response to specific periodical contexts.

Perhaps most significantly, returning to the periodicals and magazines in which Mansfield published enables us to reposition her more decisively as a colonial-metropolitan

[2] See Jayne E. Marek, *Women Editing Modernism: 'Little' Magazines and Literary History* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1995); Barbara Green, 'The Feminist Periodical Press: Women, Periodical Studies, and Modernity' in *Literature Compass*, 6.1 (2009), 191-205; Barbara Green, 'Recovering Feminist Criticism: Modern Women Writers and Feminist Periodical Studies' in *Literature Compass*, 10.1 (2013), 53-60; Manushag N. Powell, 'We Other Periodicalists, or, Why Periodical Studies?' in *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 30.2 (Fall 2011), 441-50.

modernist, writing both within and against the London literary establishment. This adds another dimension to the recent revaluation of Mansfield as a colonial, proto-postcolonial presence within the history of British modernism. In particular, Mansfield's negotiation of the colonial-metropolitan binary throughout her periodical contributions highlights the extent to which her work was motivated by a felt liminality. The mediating spaces of metropolitan periodical culture, I have argued in this thesis, provided one of the primary sites in which Mansfield could speak both of and as the 'outsider': by evoking 'other' places throughout her contributions to these periodicals and magazines, Mansfield consistently generated moments of intercultural contact and transnational exchange that served either to undermine the idea of an homogenous and integrated 'imagined community' of the nation or gesture towards other 'imagined worlds'. Whether focusing on Germany and France in *The New Age*, Eastern Europe and New Zealand in *Rhythm*, or an imagined 'hidden country' and 'new world' in *The Athenaeum*, Mansfield's writings demonstrate how twentieth-century periodicals and magazines facilitated imagined mobility, enabling the production and contestation of different geographical imaginaries.

In this way, the case study of Mansfield allows us to trace convergences between the material, textual space of the periodical form and global, transnational spatial imaginaries. As this thesis has demonstrated, these convergences were constituted by the dialogic oscillation in periodicals and magazines between identification and difference, or conversation and conflict. In *The New Age*, for example, Mansfield identified her work with articles of feminist political analysis by Beatrice Hastings, another colonial 'outsider' in London. For Mansfield, the ideas of an individualist, renegade feminism enabled her to articulate her eccentricity from the imagined national community of *The New Age* and subvert the contemporary public discourse linking motherhood and imperialism. Furthermore, both Mansfield and Hastings challenged the political and social consensus of the metropolis by adopting fragment forms,

such as the aphoristic and elliptical, and by formulating alternative modes of identification, as demonstrated by their shared enthusiasm for contemporary French literature and culture. In this way, both writers challenged ideas of linguistic integrity and national superiority advanced by other contributors to *The New Age*.

When Mansfield began contributing to *Rhythm*, conversely, she quickly became integrated into its cosmopolitan and avant-garde community of writers and artists who shared her experience of an exile that had been self-imposed in the interests of cultivating individual artistic development. However, it was precisely this experience of exile from a colonised country that made it difficult for Mansfield to wholeheartedly subscribe to the discourse of spatial conquest and geographical expansion upon which ideas of modernist, metropolitan affiliation had been constituted in *Rhythm*, and her contributions enact a highly ambiguous, ambivalent negotiation of this discourse. In this way, Mansfield's writings served to unsettle and complicate articulations of 'community' in the magazine, which were premised upon a spatial-temporal opposition between the metropolitan centre of modernity and the 'wild' peripheries tamed by the 'neo-barbarian' artist-pioneers; dissolving rigid centre-periphery hierarchies, Mansfield's contributions reveal a more hybridised art, of intercultural contact and transnational, translational exchange, as exemplified by her 'parodic translations'.

In contrast with this attempt by Mansfield to articulate difference from within the imagined 'community' of *Rhythm*, her contributions to *The Athenaeum* served to promote ideas of unified affiliation across the periodical. Along with other contributors, such as Murry, Lawrence, and Sullivan, Mansfield employed tropes of geographical 'discovery' throughout her contributions to *The Athenaeum* in order to evoke a 'hidden country' or 'new world' of spiritual rejuvenation and artistic innovation. This idea of an alternate 'imagined world' provided a vocabulary through which Mansfield sought to identify with other contributors to the periodical as well as contest the outer 'worldly world' and the official

mind of post-war public consensus. The 'imagined world' formulated within *The Athenaeum* was international in scope, incorporating Russian and French literature, in particular, and defying jingoist nationalism. This implicit critique of nationhood aligns Mansfield's expressions of affiliation in *The Athenaeum* with the same impulse of resistance to ideas of nation and empire that had motivated her earlier contributions to *The New Age* and *Rhythm*.

Mansfield's periodical contributions therefore gesture towards the productive potential of integrating spatial theories first formulated within postcolonial and transnational literary studies into our analysis of periodical print culture. Indeed, the postcolonial is not only a current of Mansfield scholarship that has until recently lain dormant under the pressure of other theories and approaches, but is also a perspective that has yet to be applied convincingly to the study of print media. In response, this thesis has looked to develop Bhabha's theory that it is the 'interstitial' and mediating space of enunciation that carries the burden of the meaning of culture. As Mansfield's writings demonstrate, periodical space operates as a system of relations, in which meaning is produced at each nexus of dialogic exchange and interaction: in other words, the periodical form operates as a *mediating* space.

Placing emphasis on the mediation concept allows us to properly theorise the periodical form as a *liminal* space defined by its openness to ambiguity and irresolution, difference and disjuncture: that is, as an interceding space of conversation and conflict, and of possible negotiation, subversion, and transgression. The theoretical recognition of the periodical form as this mediating, liminal space would enable periodical scholarship to fully acknowledge the freedoms that publication in periodicals and magazines offered to writers such as Mansfield who were located on the fringes of metropolitan culture or occupied an ambivalent relation to the literary establishment: the mediation concept helps us to theorise the periodical form as a performative, transgressive space in which writers could play with and reconstitute a number of different authorial identities, make subversive interventions

within established discursive contexts, and articulate fantasies of global movement. This thesis provides many examples to support this idea of the periodical form. Whilst Mansfield has long been recognised as a writer who donned different 'masks' as a method of self-preservation and social critique, for instance, the analysis of her periodical contributions allows us to see how different masks were employed within networks of exchange between periodicals, with the 'Boris Petrovsky' pseudonym in *Rhythm* shaping the 'Olga Petrovska' character in *The New Age*. Similarly, the 'dialogues for one voice' that Mansfield wrote in 1915 and 1917 exhibit an experimentation with form that is of little interest until these compositions are positioned within the discursive contexts of *The New Age*, in which they became radically subversive interventions within contemporary conversations about nation and gender. Finally, Mansfield created the conditions in which her own creative writing would be read by formulating the idea of a 'new world' of artistic possibility in her reviews for *The Athenaeum*; this idea appropriated colonial spatial imaginaries in order to unsettle the centre-periphery hierarchy, locating the 'undiscovered country' as the place of cultural value.

The case study of Mansfield therefore points to ways in which modernist studies might further develop the language and conceptual tools with which to examine, describe, and contextualise early twentieth-century periodicals and magazines. In developing this theoretical idea of the periodical form as a material, mediating space that metonymically presents visions of the world and (re)constitutes national, transnational spatial imaginaries, this thesis has simultaneously sought to trace a biographical narrative of Mansfield's progression that decentres established interpretations of her life and work. Instead of viewing Mansfield's writings in isolation from the original contexts of publication, divorced from the work of her contemporaries, this project reveals a writer who was deeply embedded within literary networks and consistently produced her work with a jerk of the elbow, writing with the periodicals and magazines to which she contributed at the forefront of her mind.

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Appendix I

Katherine Mansfield's contributions to periodicals and magazines[1]

1. [Kathleen Beauchamp] 'Enna Blake' in *High School Reporter* (1898), 21-2: fiction

2. [Kathleen Beauchamp] 'A Happy Christmas Eve' in *High School Reporter* (1899), 3-4: fiction

3. [Kathleen Beauchamp] 'The Pine-Tree, The Sparrows, and You and I' in *Queen's College Magazine* (1903), 74-6: fiction

4. [Kathleen Beauchamp] 'Die Einsame' in *Queen's College Magazine* (March 1904), 126-31: fiction

5. [Kathleen M. Beauchamp] 'Your Birthday' in *Queen's College Magazine* (Dec. 1904), 203-5: fiction

6. [K.M. Beauchamp] 'One Day' in *Queen's College Magazine* (July 1905), 294-5: fiction

7. [K.M. Beauchamp] 'About Pat' in *Queen's College Magazine* (Dec. 1905), 344-7: fiction

8. [K. Mansfield] 'Vignettes' in *Native Companion*, 2.3 (Oct. 1, 1907), 129-32: fiction

9. [K. Mansfield] 'Silhouettes' in *Native Companion*, 2.4 (Nov. 1, 1907), 229: fiction

10. [K. Mansfield] 'In a Cafe' in *Native Companion*, 2.5 (Dec. 2, 1907), 265-9: fiction

11. [Julian Mark] 'In the Botanical Gardens' in *Native Companion*, 2.5 (Dec. 2, 1907), 285-6: fiction

12. [Kathleen Beauchamp] 'The Lonesome Child' in *Dominion*, 1.217 (June 6, 1908), 11: poetry

13. [K. Mansfield] 'Study: The Death of a Rose' in *Triad* (July 1, 1908), 35: fiction

14. [unsigned] 'Almost a Tragedy: The Cars on Lambton Quay' in *Dominion* (Dec. 23, 1908), 11: fiction

15. [K. Mansfield] 'The Education of Audrey' in *Evening Post* (Jan. 30, 1909), 12: fiction

16. [K. M. Beauchamp] 'A Day in Bed' in *Lone Hand*, 5.1 (Oct. 1, 1909), 636: poetry

17. [K. Mansfield], 'November' in *Daily News* (Nov. 3, 1909): poetry

18. [K. Mansfield] 'The Pillar Box' in *Pall Mall Magazine*, 45.202 (Feb. 1910), 300: poetry

19. [Katharine Mansfield] 'Bavarian Babies: The Child-Who-Was-Tired' in *New Age*, 6.17 (Feb. 24, 1910), 396-8: fiction

20. [K. Mansfield] 'Mary' in *Idler*, 36.90 (March 1910), 661-5: fiction

[1] Genre is indicated at the end of each reference. Each contribution is signed 'Katherine Mansfield' unless otherwise stated at the beginning of the reference in parenthesis.

21. [Katharine Mansfield] ‘Germans at Meat’ in *New Age*, 6.18 (March 3, 1910), 419-20: fiction

22. [Katharine Mansfield] ‘The Baron’ in *New Age*, 6.19 (March 10, 1910), 444: fiction

23. [Katharine Mansfield] ‘The Luft Bad’ in *New Age*, 6.21 (March 24, 1910), 493: fiction

24. ‘Loneliness’ in *New Age*, 7.4 (May 26, 1910), 83: poetry

25. [Katharina Mansfield] ‘At “Lehmann’s”’ in *New Age*, 7.10 (July 7, 1910), 225-7: fiction

26. ‘Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding’ in *New Age*, 7.12 (July 21, 1910), 273-5: fiction

27. ‘The Sister of the Baroness’ in *New Age*, 7.14 (Aug. 4, 1910), 323-4: fiction

28. ‘A Paper Chase’ in *New Age*, 7.15 (Aug. 11, 1910), 354-5: letter to the editor

29. ‘Frau Fischer’ in *New Age*, 7.16 (Aug. 18, 1910), 366-8: fiction

30. ‘North American Chiefs’ in *New Age*, 7.17 (Aug. 25, 1910), 407: letter to the editor

31. [Katherina Mansfield] ‘A Fairy Story’ in *Open Window*, 1.3 (Dec. 1910), 162-76: fiction

32. ‘Pamieci Stanislawa Wyspianskiego’ (translation of ‘To Stanislaw Wyspianski’) in *Gazieta poniedzialkowa, Dodatek literacki Swiatecznyo Numer*, 36 (Dec. 26, 1910), 10: poetry

33. ‘A Birthday’ in *New Age*, 9.3 (May 18, 1911), 61-3: fiction

34. [K.M. and B.H.] ‘A P.S.A.’ in *New Age*, 9.4 (May 25, 1911), 95: letter to the editor[2]

35. ‘The Modern Soul’ in *New Age*, 9.8 (June 22, 1911), 183-6: fiction

36. ‘The Festival of the Coronation (With Apologies to Theocritus)’ in *New Age*, 9.9 (June 29, 1911), 196: dialogue

37. [unsigned] ‘The Breidenbach Family in England’ in *New Age*, 9.16 (Aug. 17, 1911), 371: fiction[3]

38. ‘The Journey to Bruges’ in *New Age*, 9.17 (Aug. 24, 1911), 401-2: fiction

39. ‘Being a Truthful Adventure’ in *New Age*, 9.19 (Sept. 7, 1911), 450-2: fiction

40. ‘Along the Gray’s Inn Road’ in *New Age*, 9.23 (Oct. 5, 1911), 551: letter to the editor

41. ‘Love Cycle’ in *New Age*, 9.25 (Oct. 19, 1911), 586: poetry

42. [Mouche] ‘The Mating of Gwendolyn’ in *New Age*, 10.1 (Nov. 2, 1911), 14-15: fiction[4]

43. ‘A Marriage of Passion’ in *New Age*, 10.19 (March 7, 1912), 447-8: fiction

44. ‘Pastiche: At the Club’ in *New Age*, 10.19 (March 7, 1912), 449-50: pastiche

45. ‘The Woman at the Store’ in *Rhythm*, 4 (Spring 1912), 7-24: fiction

46. [Boris Petrovsky] ‘Very Early Spring’ in *Rhythm*, 4 (Spring 1912), 30: poetry

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[2] Co-authored with Beatrice Hastings.
[3] Disputed authorship. Attributed to Mansfield by B. J. Kirkpatrick, whereas Antony Alpers attributes it to Beatrice Hastings and C. E. Bechofer as a parody of Mansfield’s ‘Pension Sketches’.
[4] Disputed authorship. Attributed to Mansfield by Kirkpatrick, as well as Clare Hanson and Andrew Gurr.

47. [Boris Petrovsky] 'The Awakening River' in *Rhythm*, 4 (Spring 1912), 30: poetry

48. 'Pastiche: Puzzle: Find the Book' in *New Age*, 11.7 (June 13, 1912), 165: pastiche

49. 'The Sea Child' in *Rhythm*, 5 (June 1912), 1: poetry

50. 'The Meaning of Rhythm' in *Rhythm*, 5 (June 1912), 18-20: non-fiction[5]

51. '*Moods, Songs and Doggerls* By John Galsworthy' in *Rhythm*, 5 (June 1912), 35: review

52. 'Pastiche: Green Goggles' in *The New Age*, 11.10 (July 4, 1912), 237: pastiche

53. 'Seriousness in Art' in *Rhythm*, 6 (July 1912), 46; 49: non-fiction[6]

54 [K.M.] '*The Triumph of Pan* By Victor Neuberg' in *Rhythm*, 6 (July 1912), 70: review

55. [K.M.] '*The Green Fields* By Kenneth Hare' in *Rhythm*, 6 (July 1912), 71: review

56. [Mouche] 'A Flirtation' in *New Age*, 11.14 (Aug. 1, 1912), 326-8: fiction[7]

57. 'Tales of a Courtyard' in *Rhythm*, 7 (Aug. 1912), 99-105: fiction

58. [The Two Tigers] 'Jack & Jill Attend the Theatre' in *Rhythm*, 7 (Aug. 1912), 120-1: dialogue[8]

59. [K.M.] '*Elsie Lindter* By Karin Michaelis' in *Rhythm*, 7 (Aug. 1912), 122: review

60. [Boris Petrovsky] 'The Earth-Child in the Grass' in *Rhythm*, 8 (Sept. 1912), 125: poetry

61. [Lili Heron] 'How Pearl Button Was Kidnapped' in *Rhythm*, 8 (Sept. 1912), 136-9: fiction

62. 'Spring in a Dream' in *Rhythm*, 8 (Sept. 1912), 161-5: fiction

63. [K.M.] '*Confession of a Fool* By August Strindberg' in *Rhythm*, 8 (Sept. 1912), 181-2: review

64. [unsigned] '*The Happy Family*' in *Saturday Westminster Gazette*, 40.6029 (Sept. 21, 1912), 12: review

65. 'New Dresses' in *Rhythm*, 9 (Oct. 1912), 189-201: fiction

66. [Lili Heron] 'The Little Girl' in *Rhythm*, 9 (Oct. 1912), 218-21: fiction

67. [The Tiger] 'Sunday Lunch' in *Rhythm*, 9 (Oct. 1912), 223-5: fiction

68. [K.M.] '*An Anthology of Modern Bohemian Poetry* By P. Selver' in *Rhythm*, 9 (Oct. 1912), 235: review

69. [Boris Petrovsky] 'To God the Father' in *Rhythm*, 10 (Nov. 1912), 237: poetry

70. 'The House' in *Hearth and Home*, 44.1124 (Nov. 28, 1912), 233-4: fiction

71. 'The Opal Dream Cave' in *Rhythm*, 11 (Dec. 1912), 306: poetry

72. 'Sea' in *Rhythm*, 11 (Dec. 1912), 307: poetry

73. 'Old Cockatoo Curl' in *T.P.'s Weekly* (Dec. 27, 1912), 46; 48; 50: fiction[9]

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[5] Co-authored with John Middleton Murry.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Disputed authorship. Both Kirkpatrick and Alpers have rejected the attribution of authorship to Mansfield.
[8] Co-authored with John Middleton Murry.

74. ‘Ole Underwood’ in *Rhythm*, 12 (Jan. 1913), 334-7: fiction

75. [Boris Petrovsky] ‘Jangling Memory’ in *Rhythm*, 12 (Jan. 1913), 337: poetry

76. [unsigned] ‘Virginia’s Journal. January’ in *Rhythm*, 12 (Jan. 1913), 360-2: fiction

77. ‘Sea Song’ in *Rhythm*, 14 (March 1913), 453-4: poetry

78. [Boris Petrovsky] ‘There Was a Child Once’ in *Rhythm*, 14 (March 1913), 471: poetry

79. ‘Floryan Nachdenklich’ in *Saturday Westminster Gazette*, 41.6129 (Jan. 18, 1913), 7; reprinted in *Dominion* (March 3, 1913), 11: poetry

80. ‘Epilogue: Pension Seguin’ in *Blue Review*, 1 (May 1913), 37-42: fiction

81. ‘Millie’ in *Blue Review*, 2 (June 1913), 82-7: fiction

82. ‘Epilogue: II’ in *Blue Review*, 2 (June 1913), 103-9: fiction

83. ‘Epilogue: III Bains Turcs’ in *Blue Review* (July 1913), 181-5: fiction

84. [unsigned] ‘Lu of the Ranges’ in *Saturday Westminster Gazette*, 42.6282 (July 19, 1913), 12: review

85. [Mouche] ‘The Wild Rabbit: A Fantasy of the Future’ in *New Age*, 13.15 (Aug. 7, 1913), 427-8: fiction[10]

86. ‘Old Tar’ in *Saturday Westminster Gazette* (Oct. 25, 1913), 9: fiction

87. [Matilda Berry] ‘Autumns: I’ in *Signature*, 1 (Oct. 4, 1915), 15-18: fiction

88. [Matilda Berry] ‘Autumns: II’ in *Signature*, 1 (Oct. 4, 1915), 18-23: fiction

89. [Matilda Berry] ‘The Little Governess’ in *Signature*, 2 (Oct. 18, 1915), 11-18: fiction

90. [Matilda Berry] ‘The Little Governess: Part II’ in *Signature*, 3 (Nov. 1, 1915), 11-18: fiction

91. ‘Stay-laces’ in *New Age*, 18.1 (Nov. 4, 1915), 14-15: dialogue

92. ‘Pastiche: Alors, Je Pars; Living Alone; E.M. Forster; Beware of the Rain!; L.M.’s Way; Cephalus’ in *New Age*, 20.25 (April 19, 1917), 595: pastiche

93. ‘Two Tuppenny Ones, Please’ in *New Age*, 21.1 (May 3, 1917), 13-14: dialogue

94. ‘Late at Night’ in *New Age*, 21.2 (May 10, 1917), 38: monologue

95. ‘The Black Cap’ in *New Age*, 21.3 (May 17, 1917), 62-3: dialogue

96. ‘In Confidence’ in *New Age*, 21.4 (May 24, 1917), 88-9: dialogue

97. ‘The Common Round’ in *New Age*, 21.5 (May 31, 1917), 113-15: dialogue[11]

98. ‘A Pic-Nic’ in *New Age*, 21.6 (June 7, 1917), 136-8: dialogue

99. ‘Mr Reginald Peacock’s Day’ in *New Age*, 21.7 (June 14, 1917), 158-61: fiction

100. ‘M. Seguin’s Goat’ in *New Age*, 21.19 (Sept. 6, 1917), 411-12: translation[12]

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[9] Ibid.
[10] Disputed authorship. Attributed to Mansfield by Alpers.
[11] An early version of ‘Pictures’.

101. ‘An Album Leaf’ in *New Age*, 21.21 (Sept. 20, 1917), 450-2: fiction[13]

102. ‘A Dill Pickle’ in *New Age*, 21.23 (Oct. 4, 1917), 489-91: fiction

103. ‘Pastiche: Miss Elizabeth Smith’ in *New Age*, 22.7 (Dec. 13, 1917), 138: pastiche

104. [unsigned] ‘Paris Through an Attic’ in *Times Literary Supplement*, 851 (May 9, 1918), 220: review

105. [unsigned] ‘A Frenchman’s Englishman’ in *Times Literary Supplement*, 855 (June 6, 1918), 261: review

106. [unsigned] ‘Pour Toi, Patrie’ in *Times Literary Supplement*, 859 (July 4, 1918), 312: review

107. ‘Bliss’ in *English Review*, 27.2 (Aug. 1918), 108-19: fiction

108. ‘Carnation’ in *Nation*, 23.23 (Sept. 7, 1918), 595-6: fiction

109. [unsigned] ‘Three Women Novelists’ in *Athenaeum*, 4640 (April 4, 1919), 140-1: review

110. [unsigned] ‘Letters of Anton Tchehov’ in *Athenaeum*, 4640 (April 4, 1919), 148-9: translation[14]

111. [unsigned] ‘Two Novels of Worth’ in *Athenaeum*, 4641 (April 11, 1919), 173-4: review

112. [K.M.] ‘A Citizen of the Sea’ in *Athenaeum*, 4642 (April 18, 1919), 205: review

113. [Elizabeth Stanley] ‘Fairy Tale’ in *Athenaeum*, 4642 (April 18, 1919), 199: poetry

114. [unsigned] ‘Letters of Anton Tchehov II’ in *Athenaeum*, 4642 (April 18, 1919), 213-16: translation[15]

115. [Elizabeth Stanley] ‘Covering Wings’ in *Athenaeum*, 4643 (April 25, 1919), 233: poetry

116. [Elizabeth Stanley] ‘Firelight’ in *Athenaeum*, 4643 (April 25, 1919), 233: poetry

117. [K.M.] ‘Portrait of a Little Lady’ in *Athenaeum*, 4643 (April 25, 1919), 237-8: review

118. ‘Letters of Anton Tchehov III’ in *Athenaeum*, 4643 (April 25, 1919), 249: translation[16]

119. ‘Perambulations’ in *Athenaeum*, 4644 (May 2, 1919), 264-5: fiction

120. [K.M.] ‘A Victorian Jungle’ in *Athenaeum*, 4644 (May 2, 1919), 272: review

121. ‘Letters of Anton Tchehov IV’ in *Athenaeum*, 4644 (May 2, 1919), 282: translation[17]

122. [K.M.] ‘Inarticulations’ in *Athenaeum*, 4645 (May 9, 1919), 302: review

123. [K.M.] ‘The Public School Mixture’ in *Athenaeum*, 4646 (May 16, 1919), 335: review

124. [unsigned] ‘Out and About’ in *Athenaeum*, 4646 (May 16, 1919), 336: review

125. [Elizabeth Stanley] ‘Sorrowing Love’ in *Athenaeum*, 4647 (May 23, 1919), 366: poetry

126. [K.M.] ‘A Bouquet’ in *Athenaeum*, 4647 (May 23, 1919), 366: review

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[12] Translation from the French of Alphonse Daudet.
[13] Later published as ‘Feuille d’Album’.
[14] Collaboration with S. S. Koteliansky
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.

127. ‘Letters of Anton Tchehov V’ in *Athenaeum*, 4647 (May 23, 1919), 378: translation[18]

128. [K.M.] ‘A Novel without a Crisis’ in *Athenaeum*, 4648 (May 30, 1919), 399: review

129. [K.M.] ‘A Child and Her Note-book’ in *Athenaeum*, 4648 (May 30, 1919), 400: review

130. [K.M.] ‘An Exoticist’ in *Athenaeum*, 4649 (June 6, 1919), 430: review

131. ‘Letters of Anton Tchehov VI’ in *Athenaeum*, 4649 (June 6, 1919), 441-2: translation[19]

132. [K.M.] ‘A Short Story’ in *Athenaeum*, 4650 (June 13, 1919), 459: review

133. [K.M.] ‘Glancing Light’ in *Athenaeum*, 4650 (June 13, 1919), 463: review

134. [unsigned] ‘The Dean’ in *Athenaeum*, 4650 (June 13, 1919), 477: review

135. [K.M.] ‘The New Infancy’ in *Athenaeum*, 4651 (June 20, 1919), 494: review

136. [unsigned] ‘The Caravan Man’ in *Athenaeum*, 4651 (June 20, 1919), 511: review

137. [K.M.] ‘Flourisheth in Strange Places’ in *Athenaeum*, 4652 (June 27, 1919), 526: review

138. ‘Letters of Anton Tchehov VII’ in *Athenaeum*, 4652 (June 27, 1919), 538: translation[20]

139. [Elizabeth Stanley] ‘A Little Girl’s Prayer’ in *Athenaeum*, 4653 (July 4, 1919), 552: poetry

140. [K.M.] ‘Uncomfortable Words’ in *Athenaeum*, 4653 (July 4, 1919), 556: review

141. [K.M.] ‘The Great Simplicity’ in *Athenaeum*, 4654 (July 11, 1919), 591: review

142. ‘Letters of Anton Tchehov VIII’ in *Athenaeum*, 4654 (July 11, 1919), 602: translation[21]

143. [K.M.] ‘A Novel of Suspense’ in *Athenaeum*, 4655 (July 18, 1919), 662: review

144. [unsigned] ‘A Sailor’s Home’ in *Athenaeum*, 4655 (July 18, 1919), 639: review

145. [K.M.] ‘Anodyne’ in *Athenaeum*, 4656 (July 20, 1919), 654: review

146. ‘Letters of Anton Tchehov IX’ in *Athenaeum*, 4656 (July 25, 1919), 667: translation[22]

147. [K.M.] ‘A “Poser”’ in *Athenaeum*, 4657 (Aug. 1, 1919), 687: review

148. [K. M.] ‘A Backward Glance’ in *Athenaeum*, 4658 (Aug. 8, 1919), 720: review

149. ‘Letters of Anton Tchehov X’ in *Athenaeum*, 4658 (Aug. 8, 1919), 731-2: translation[23]

150. [K.M.] ‘Mr. Walpole in the Nursery’ in *Athenaeum*, 4659 (Aug. 15, 1919), 752: review

151. [Elizabeth Stanley] ‘Secret Flowers’ in *Athenaeum*, 4660 (Aug. 22, 1919), 776: poetry

152. [K.M.] ‘Sans Merci’ in *Athenaeum*, 4660 (Aug. 22, 1919), 782-3: review

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[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.

153. [K.M.] ‘Hand Made’ in *Athenaeum*, 4661 (Aug. 29, 1919), 815: review

154. [K.M.] ‘The “Sex Complex”’ in *Athenaeum*, 4661 (Aug. 29, 1919), 816: review

155. [K.M.] ‘Mr. De Morgan’s Last Book’ in *Athenaeum*, 4662 (Sept. 5, 1919), 846: review

156. ‘Letters of Anton Tchehov XI’ in *Athenaeum*, 4662 (Sept. 5, 1919), 858: translation[24]

157. [K.M.] ‘A Landscape with Portraits’ in *Athenaeum*, 4663 (Sept. 12, 1919), 881: review

158. [K.M.] ‘Lions and Lambs’ in *Athenaeum*, 4664 (Sept. 19, 1919), 915: review

159. [K.M.] ‘Dea Ex Machina’ in *Athenaeum*, 4665 (Sept. 26, 1919), 948: review

160. [K.M.] ‘Sensitiveness’ in *Athenaeum*, 4666 (Oct. 3, 1919), 976-7: review

161. [K.M.] ‘Portraits and Passions’ in *Athenaeum*, 4667 (Oct. 10, 1919), 1002: review

162. [K.M.] ‘Humour and Heaviness’ in *Athenaeum*, 4668 (Oct. 17, 1919), 1035: review

163. [K.M.] ‘A Plea for Less Entertainment’ in *Athenaeum*, 4669 (Oct. 24, 1919), 1067: review

164. ‘Letters of Anton Tchehov XII’ in *Athenaeum*, 4669 (Oct. 24, 1919), 1078-9: translation[25]

165. [K.M.] ‘A Standstill’ in *Athenaeum*, 4670 (Oct. 31, 1919), 1123: review

166. ‘Letters of Anton Tchehov XIII’ in *Athenaeum*, 4670 (Oct. 31, 1919), 1135: translation[26]

167. ‘The Pictures’ in *Art & Letters*, 2.4 (Autumn 1919), 153-6; 159-652: fiction[27]

168. [K.M.] ‘Three Approaches’ in *Athenaeum*, 4671 (Nov. 7, 1919), 1153: review

169. [K.M.] ‘A “Real” Book and an Unreal One’ in *Athenaeum*, 4672 (Nov. 14, 1919), 1187: review

170. [K.M.] ‘A Ship Comes into the Harbour’ in *Athenaeum*, 4673 (Nov. 21, 1919), 1227: review

171. [K.M.] ‘Some Aspects of Dostoyevsky’ in *Athenaeum*, 4674 (Nov. 28, 1919), 1256: review

172. [K.M.] ‘Control and Enthusiasm’ in *Athenaeum*, 4674 (Nov. 28, 1919), 1259: review

173. [K.M.] ‘A Revival’ in *Athenaeum*, 4675 (Dec. 5, 1919), 1289-90: review

174. [K.M.] ‘A Foreign Novel’ in *Athenaeum*, 4676 (Dec. 12, 1919), 1336: review

175. [K.M.] ‘A Post-War and a Victorian Novel’ in *Athenaeum*, 4677 (Dec. 19, 1919), 1371: review

176. [K.M.] ‘A Collection of Short Stories’ in *Athenaeum*, 4678 (Dec. 26, 1919), 1399: review

177. [K.M.] ‘The Plain and the Adorned’ in *Athenaeum*, 4679 (Jan. 2, 1920), 15: review

178. [Elizabeth Stanley] ‘Old-Fashioned Widow’s Song’ in *Athenaeum*, 4680 (Jan. 9, 1920), 42: poetry

179. [K.M.] ‘Dragonflies’ in *Athenaeum*, 4680 (Jan. 9, 1920), 48: review

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[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Initially composed in dialogue form as ‘The Common Round’ for *The New Age*. Later titled ‘Pictures’.

180. [K.M.] ‘Words – Words – Words’ in *Athenaeum*, 4681 (Jan. 16, 1920), 79: review

181. [K.M.] ‘The Stale and the Fresh’ in *Athenaeum*, 4681 (Jan. 16, 1920), 79: review

182. [Elizabeth Stanley] ‘A Sunset’ in *Athenaeum*, 4682 (Jan. 23, 1920), 103: poetry

183. [unsigned] ‘Anton Tchehov Biographical Note (1860-1887)’ in *Athenaeum*, 4682 (Jan. 23, 1920), 124: non-fiction[28]

184. [K.M.] ‘Amusement’ in *Athenaeum*, 4683 (Jan. 30, 1920), 143: review

185. [K.M.] ‘Portrait of a Child’ in *Athenaeum*, 4683 (Jan. 30, 1920), 143-4: review

186. [K.M.] ‘The Easy Path’ in *Athenaeum*, 4684 (Feb. 6, 1920), 179: review

187. [K.M.] ‘Promise’ in *Athenaeum*, 4684 (Feb. 6, 1920), 179: review

188. [unsigned] ‘Anton Tchehov, Biographical Note (1860-1887)’ (Part II) in *Athenaeum*, 4684 (Feb. 6, 1920), 191: non-fiction

189. [K.M.] ‘Simplicity’ in *Athenaeum*, 4685 (Feb. 13, 1920), 211: review

190. [K.M.] ‘Orchestra and Solo’ in *Athenaeum*, 4686 (Feb. 20, 1920), 241: review

191. [unsigned] ‘The Wider Way’ in *Athenaeum*, 4686 (Feb. 20, 1920), 258: review

192. [K.M.] ‘Mystery and Adventure’ in *Athenaeum*, 4687 (Feb. 27, 1920), 274: review

193. [K.M.] ‘A Party’ in *Athenaeum*, 4687 (Feb. 27, 1920), 274: review

194. [K.M.] ‘On the Road’ in *Athenaeum*, 4690 (March 19, 1920), 369: review

195. [K.M.] ‘“My True Love Hath my Heart”’ in *Athenaeum*, 4691 (March 26, 1920), 415-16: review

196. [K.M.] ‘Short Stories’ in *Athenaeum*, 4692 (April 2, 1920), 446: review

197. ‘The Diary of Anton Tchehov’ in *Athenaeum*, 4692 (April 2, 1920), 460-1: translation[29]

198. [K.M.] ‘Two Modern Novels’ in *Athenaeum*, 4693 (April 9, 1920), 479: review

199. [K.M.] ‘Butterflies’ in *Athenaeum*, 4694 (April 16, 1920), 511: review

200. [K.M.] ‘Kensingtonia’ in *Athenaeum*, 4695 (April 23, 1920), 543: review

201. [K.M.] ‘Alms’ in *Athenaeum*, 4696 (April 30, 1920), 573: review

202. [K.M.] ‘Mrs. Humphrey Ward’s Last Novel’ in *Athenaeum*, 4697 (May 7, 1920), 606: review

203. [K.M.] ‘Pressed Flowers’ in *Athenaeum*, 4697 (May 7, 1920), 606: review

204. [K.M.] ‘Mr. Mackenzie’s Treat’ in *Athenaeum*, 4698 (May 14, 1920), 639: review

205. [K.M.] ‘A Woman’s Books’ in *Athenaeum*, 4698 (May 14, 1920), 639: review

206. [unsigned] ‘A Tragic Comedienne’ in *Nation*, 27.7 (May 15, 1920), 228-30: review

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[28] Collaboration with S. S. Koteliansky
[29] Ibid.

207. [K.M.] ‘A Japanese Novel’ in *Athenaeum*, 4699 (May 21, 1920), 671: review

208. [K.M.] ‘An Enigma’ in *Athenaeum*, 4699 (May 21, 1920), 671: review

209. [K.M.] ‘Two Novels’ in *Athenaeum*, 4700 (May 28, 1920), 702: review

210. [K.M.] ‘Looking On’ in *Athenaeum*, 4700 (May 28, 1920), 702-3: review

211. ‘The Man Without a Temperament’ in *Art & Letters*, 3.2 (Spring 1920), 10-14; 17-22; 25: fiction

212. [K.M.] ‘A Model Story’ in *Athenaeum*, 4701 (June 4, 1920), 736: review

213. [K.M.] ‘A Spring to Catch Woodcocks’ in *Athenaeum*, 4701 (June 4, 1920), 736: review

214. ‘Revelations’ in *Athenaeum*, 4702 (June 11, 1920), 759-9: fiction

215. [K.M.] ‘A Norwegian Novel’ in *Athenaeum*, 4702 (June 11, 1920), 767: review

216. [K.M.] ‘Echoes’ in *Athenaeum*, 4702 (June 11, 1920), 767: review

217. [K.M.] ‘The Books of the Small Souls’ in *Athenaeum*, 4703 (June 18, 1920), 798-9: review

218. [K.M.] ‘A Prize Novel’ in *Athenaeum*, 4704 (June 25, 1920), 831: review

219. [K.M.] ‘Wanted, a New Word’ in *Athenaeum*, 4704 (June 25, 1920), 831-2: review

220. [unsigned] ‘The Stars in Their Courses’ in *Athenaeum*, 4705 (July 2, 1920), 5: non-fiction leader

221. [K.M.] ‘Mr. Conrad’s New Novel’ in *Athenaeum*, 4705 (July 2, 1920), 15: review

222. ‘The Escape’ in *Athenaeum*, 4706 (July 9, 1920), 38-9: fiction

223. [K.M.] ‘First Novels’ in *Athenaeum*, 4706 (July 9, 1920), 49: review

224. [K.M.] ‘The Old and the New Hand’ in *Athenaeum*, 4707 (July 16, 1920), 78: review

225. [K.M.] ‘A Hymn to Youth’ in *Athenaeum*, 4707 (July 16, 1920), 78: review

226. [unsigned] ‘The Cherry Orchard’ in *Athenaeum*, 4707 (July 16, 1920), 91: review[30]

227. [K.M.] ‘Rather a Give-away’ in *Athenaeum*, 4708 (July 23, 1920), 111: review

228. [K.M.] ‘The Luxurious Style’ in *Athenaeum*, 4708 (July 23, 1920), 111-12: review

229. [K.M.] ‘Hypertrophy’ in *Athenaeum*, 4709 (July 30, 1920), 144: review

230. [K.M.] ‘A Foreign Novel’ in *Athenaeum*, 4709 (July 30, 1920), 144: review

231. ‘Bank Holiday’ in *Athenaeum*, 4710 (Aug. 6, 1920), 166-7: fiction

232. [K.M.] ‘Esther Waters Revisited’ in *Athenaeum*, 4710 (Aug. 6, 1920), 176: review

233. ‘A Holiday Novel’ in *Athenaeum*, 4711 (Aug. 13, 1920), 209: review

234. [K.M.] ‘Throw Them Overboard!’ in *Athenaeum*, 4711 (Aug. 13, 1920), 209-10: review

235. [M.] ‘Degrees of Reality’ in *Athenaeum*, 4711 (Aug. 13, 1920), 220: review[31]

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[30] Reprinted in *Adelphi*, 3.3 (August 1925), 214-16

236. [unsigned] ‘Stop Press Biography’ in *Athenaeum*, 4712 (Aug. 20, 1920), 229: non-fiction leader

237. [K.M.] ‘Deader than the Dodo’ in *Athenaeum*, 4712 (Aug. 20, 1920), 241: review

238. [K.M.] ‘Victorian Elegance’ in *Athenaeum*, 4712 (Aug. 20, 1920), 241-2: review

239. [unsigned] ‘The Critics’ New Year’ in *Athenaeum*, 4713 (Aug. 27, 1920), 261: non-fiction leader

240. ‘The Wind Blows’ in *Athenaeum*, 4713 (Aug. 27, 1920), 262-3: fiction[32]

241. [K.M.] ‘Hearts are Trumps’ in *Athenaeum*, 4713 (Aug. 27, 1920), 272: review

242. [K.M.] ‘A Witty Sentimentalist’ in *Athenaeum*, 4713 (Aug. 27, 1920), 272: review

243. [K.M.] ‘Sussex, All Too Sussex’ in *Athenaeum*, 4714 (Sept. 3, 1920), 304: review

244. [K.M.] ‘Savoir-Faire’ in *Athenaeum*, 4714 (Sept. 3, 1920), 304: review

245. [K.M.] ‘Letters’ in *Athenaeum*, 4715 (Sept. 10, 1920), 332: review

246. [K.M.] ‘An Imagined Judas’ in *Athenaeum*, 4715 (Sept. 10, 1920), 332: review

247. [K.M.] ‘A Dull Monster’ in *Athenaeum*, 4716 (Sept. 17, 1920), 376: review

248. [K.M.] ‘The Case of Mr. Newte’ in *Athenaeum*, 4717 (Sept. 24, 1920), 407: review

249. [K.M.] ‘Fishing as a Fine Art’ in *Athenaeum*, 4717 (Sept. 24, 1920), 407: review

250. ‘Sun and Moon’ in *Athenaeum*, 4718 (Oct. 1, 1920), 430-2: fiction

251. [K.M.] ‘New Season’s Novels’ in *Athenaeum*, 4718 (Oct. 1, 1920), 439: review

252. [K.M.] ‘Entertainment – and Otherwise’ in *Athenaeum*, 4719 (Oct. 8, 1920), 472: review

253. [K.M.] ‘Observation Only’ in *Athenaeum*, 4720 (Oct. 15, 1920), 519-20: review

254. [K.M.] ‘Some New Thing’ in *Athenaeum*, 4720 (Oct. 15, 1920), 520: review

255. [K.M.] ‘Ask No Questions’ in *Athenaeum*, 4721 (Oct. 22, 1920), 552-3: review

256. ‘The Young Girl’ in *Athenaeum*, 4722 (Oct. 29, 1920), 575-7: fiction

257. [K.M.] ‘The Silence is Broken’ in *Athenaeum*, 4722 (Oct. 29, 1920), 584: review

258. [K.M.] ‘A Batch of Five’ in *Athenaeum*, 4723 (Nov. 5, 1920), 616-17: review

259. [K.M.] ‘“The Magic Door”’ in *Athenaeum*, 4724 (Nov. 12, 1920), 652-3: review

260. [K.M.] ‘Old Writers and New’ in *Athenaeum*, 4725 (Nov. 19, 1920), 694-5: review

261. ‘Miss Brill’ in *Athenaeum*, 4726 (Nov. 26, 1920), 722-3: fiction

262. [K.M.] ‘A Set of Four’ in *Athenaeum*, 4726 (Nov. 26, 1920), 728-9: review

263. [K.M.] ‘Friends and Foes’ in *Athenaeum*, 4727 (Dec. 3, 1920), 758-9: review

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[31] Attributed to Mansfield by Kirkpatrick.
[32] Revised version of ‘Autumns II’, first published in *The Signature*.

264. [K.M.] ‘Two Novels’ in *Athenaeum*, 4727 (Dec. 3, 1920), 760: review

265. [K.M.] ‘Family Portraits’ in *Athenaeum*, 4728 (Dec. 10, 1920), 810-11: review

266. [M.] ‘The Decay of Mr. D. H. Lawrence’ in *Athenaeum*, 4729 (Dec. 29, 1920), 836: review[33]

267. ‘The Lady’s Maid’ in *Athenaeum*, 4730 (Dec. 24, 1920), 858-9: fiction

268. [J.M.M.] ‘More Notes on Tchehov’ in *Athenaeum*, 4732 (Jan. 7, 1921), 11-12: review[34]

269. ‘The Stranger’ in *London Mercury*, 3.15 (Jan. 1921), 259-68: fiction

270. ‘Life of Ma Parker’ in *Nation and the Athenaeum*, 28.22 (Feb. 26, 1921), 742-3: fiction

271. ‘The Singing Lesson: A Story’ in *Sphere* (April 23, 1921), 96: fiction

272. ‘The Daughters of the Late Colonel’ in *London Mercury*, 4.19 (May 1921), 15-30: fiction

273. ‘Sixpence’ in *Sphere* (Aug. 6, 1921), 144: fiction

274. [J. Middleton Murry] ‘The Nostalgia of Mr. D. H. Lawrence’ in *Nation and the Athenaeum*, 29.20 (Aug. 13, 1921), 713-14: review[35]

275. ‘Mr and Mrs Dove’ in *Sphere* (Aug. 13, 1921), 172-3: fiction

276. ‘An Ideal Family’ in *Sphere* (Aug. 20, 1921), 196-7: fiction

277. ‘A Family Saga’ in *Daily News* (Nov. 5, 1921), 8: review

278. ‘Her First Ball’ in *Sphere* (Nov. 28, 1921), 15; 25: fiction

279. ‘The Voyage’ in *Sphere* (Dec. 24, 1921), 340-1: fiction

280. ‘Marriage à la Mode’ in *Sphere* (Dec. 31, 1921), 364-5: fiction

281. ‘At the Bay’ in *London Mercury*, 5.27 (Jan. 1922), 239-65: fiction

282. ‘The Doll’s House’ in *Nation and the Athenaeum*, 30.19 (Feb. 4, 1922), 692-3: fiction

283. ‘The Garden-Party: Part I’ in *Saturday Westminster Gazette* (Feb. 4, 1922), 9-10: fiction

284. ‘The Garden-Party: Part II’ in *Saturday Westminster Gazette* (Feb. 11, 1922), 10: fiction

285. ‘The Garden-Party: Part III’ in *Saturday Westminster Gazette* (Feb. 18, 1922), 16-17: fiction

286. [Katharine Mansfield] ‘Taking the Veil’ in *Sketch* (Feb. 22, 1922), 296: fiction

287. ‘The Fly’ in *Nation and the Athenaeum*, 30.25 (March 18, 1922), 896-7: fiction

288. ‘Honeymoon’ in *Nation and the Athenaeum*, 31.5 (April 29, 1922), 156-7: fiction

289. ‘A Cup of Tea’ in *Story-Teller* (May 1922), 121-5: fiction

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[33] Usually attributed to Murry. However, as Kirkpatrick notes (p. 151), the marked files of *The Athenaeum* record ‘K.M.’ as the reviewer.
[34] Kirkpatrick argues that Mansfield also wrote this review. However, the marked copies clearly attribute this to Murry.
[35] Ibid.

290. [J. Middleton Murry] ‘Two Remarkable Novels’ in *Nation and the Athenaeum*, 31.20 (Aug. 12, 1922), 655-6[36]

291. ‘The Canary’ in *Nation and the Athenaeum*, 33.3 (April 21, 1923), 84: fiction

[36] Ibid.

Appendix II

Katherine Mansfield, ‘A Little Episode’ (1909)

> The one charm of the past is that it is past. But women never know when the curtain has fallen.
>
> Lord Henry in ‘Dorian Gray’

Yvonne moved slowly up the long, brilliantly lighted Concert Hall. She bowed slightly to several acquaintances, faintly conscious of the men’s admiring glances and the women’s air of eager familiarity.

Suddenly she felt a slight pull at her skirt, and, looking down, saw Mrs. Mason, a stout, moustached woman in an aggressively décolleté dress, smiling and holding out her hand.

“Good evening, Mrs. Mason,” said Yvonne, smiling also, and pressing the hand gently.

“Good evening, Lady Mandeville … All alone? I hope that your husband’s not seedy?”

“He’s a little afraid that he’s catching a cold in the head,” Yvonne replied, “so thought it better to stay by the fire and nurse himself.”

“O very wise, very wise indeed,” said Mrs. Mason, ruffling the lace on her bosom until she had all the appearance of a pigeon, “sickness is so very prevalent just now.”

“Yes, wretchedly so,” answered Yvonne.

“My Ethel has had a frightful nosey cold and now it’s gone to her chest with a horrid loose cough. Of course she makes a great fuss but I know the secret of all these things – good strong mustard plasters.”

"Is that so," said Yvonne. She glanced at Mrs. Mason's stout red arms and shivered slightly.

"I hope you're not catching anything," continued Mrs. Mason, "you're looking a little puffy about the eyes, my dear."

She turned to a small pale woman seated beside her, whose paleness was accentuated by a great cluster of scarlet geraniums and maidenhair fern which crept up her left shoulder … "May I introduce my friend Mrs. Wood – "

"How do you do?" said Yvonne, and moved to her seat.

"What a distinguished looking woman," said Mrs. Wood, "such grace, Amelia – she looks like a Du Maurier picture, doesn't she?"

"O yes, a dear little girl," said Mrs. Mason, fanning herself vigorously. "I knew her husband before they were married – a very good, practical fellow. Don't you know about her?"

"No, nothing except that she is Lady Mandeville. Please tell me about her?"

"O, she is a niece of Dr. and Mrs. Parratt – you know – those nice, quiet, thoughtful Church of England people in Bellevue Avenue. This girl was the daughter of Oswald Parratt – a younger brother and a complete failure. They tried him in everything – and at last he left all his family – went to Paris and took to Art."

Mrs. Wood murmured a little exclamation – which might have been horror or pity or sympathy.

"Then," said Mrs. Mason, pulling up her long gloves, and carefully smoothing out the creases, "he married some little obscure weed," her voice was full of withering contempt, "who died when this girl, Yvonne, was born. They say the Father never recovered from that – and the child was brought up helter-skelter in a dreadful way, until when she was seventeen her Father died. You remember Dr. and Mrs. Parratt were abroad at the time, so they rescued Yvonne – who hadn't a penny – and brought her to Manchester."

"Just like them," murmured Mrs. Wood, softly.

"Yes. The child – at least she was half woman then – didn't even know the Catechism – had no clothes and smoked cigarettes … It was a positive reformation. They changed her absolutely – and, as she was pretty, Geoffrey Mandeville fell in love with her and married her. Of course, as I told her, it was a mere fluke – the most wonderful good fortune. She, indeed, was perfectly dazed at the whole affair."

"And has it been a success?"

"Turning out very well."

"Have they any children?"

"No, not yet – but I should think they would, certainly – they can easily afford it, and Geoffrey is just that sort of man – good and earnest and very thorough … "

Mrs. Wood glanced curiously at Yvonne – she leant back in her chair, her pale delicate face in repose wore a strangely listless expression – her fair, shining hair was arranged in fashionable puffs and curls. She wore a long black velvet kimono coat and looked the very embodiment of elegant languor.

And the girl was thinking –

"I am a damned fool to come here – I can't think way I did, and it would have been so easy to get out of it. But it was too great a temptation … I wonder if he'll be the same – I wonder if he'll notice me – I shall certainly not dream of going to see him afterwards … "

A man came on to the platform to open the piano – Yvonne stirred slightly in her seat – and opened and shut her hands convulsively.

A moment later Jacques Saint Pierre was bowing before the audience.

She did not look up until he had seated himself at the piano – then – he had not changed – the same slim figure – the same profusion of black hair brushed straight back from his face – the pouting, eager mouth, the beautiful expressive Musician hands.

A sudden wave of colour flooded her face – as he began to play –

Recollections – exquisite bitter sweet memories began to flock past her – a motley, mad, fascinating troupe. She closed her eyes … Back again in her Father's rooms – Jacques at the piano – Emil, half lying across the table – Jean by the fire – sketching them all … She, sitting huddled up by her Father – his arm around her, cheek to cheek, heart to heart.

A thunderous, deafening burst of applause followed the Appassionata. The sharp, hard sound seemed to hurt her physically – seemed to fall upon her bruised, trembling soul – like brutal blows.

Seized by an ungovernable impulse she rose and swiftly passed out of the hall.

"Please direct me to the Artists' Room," she said.

The man looked at her enquiringly.

"M. does not care to see – "

"I am a personal friend of M. Saint Pierre. It is by appointment."

The man bowed. They passed down a narrow stone passage – through swing doors – "second door to the right," said the attendant and left her there.

Yvonne stood still a moment – she felt half suffocated – her heart seemed to be thudding – loudly and dully.

Then she suddenly ran forward and knocked at the door.

"Entrez," said a voice.

She opened the door and stood, tremulous, tears trembling on her lashes, on the threshold.

Jacques was standing before a little fire – smoking a cigarette. He looked up, inquiringly – and then, seeing her – ran forward and took her two hands –

"Yvonne – Yvonne."

"Jacques – Jacques."

She was half laughing, half crying, inexpressibly, intoxicatingly beautiful … the little charming chrysalis of studio days had become this fascinating Society butterfly – and to her – this dear, affectionate boy had become ideal man – ideal musician – the symbol of all her happy life – her Paris days.

"O," she said, impulsively – childishly. "I have been so miserable – "

She felt she must tell him everything – confide in him – ask his advice – win his sympathy. She felt she must hear again that curious caressing tone of his voice … "O Jacques."

He drew forward a chair.

"Tenez," he said, "I must go and play again. Wait here – nobody will come near you. Here are some cigarettes and you must talk to me – afterwards – "

"O yes – yes," she cried.

He left her, closing the door.

Yvonne took a cigarette – lit it with a shadowy smile on her face. Very faintly she could hear the sound of the piano. If only they could see her now – all those fat, stolid Philistines – that idiot husband.

When Jacques came back she looked like an adorable child caught mischief-making – the man caught his breath sharply. He was excited by the music – and his hands trembled perceptibly. He did not wish to hear a long, burdensome confession – he wanted to hold this woman and kiss her. Some tremendous passion seemed to be shaking him.

"Well, tell me everything," he said, leaning against the mantelpiece and looking into the fire.

Yvonne got up and stood beside him. She spoke very rapidly – in a low, even voice.

"It's only this Jacques. When I came from Paris here, O, I really thought I should have died – Jacques, I longed to die. I cried every night – but they had me in hand – they tortured me with everything. It went on for weeks – and until at last I made up my mind that whatever happened – I should leave them. But I hadn't a penny – not even enough to pay postage stamps with – and no education – I couldn't teach – or sew – or anything … "

She put her hand on his sleeve. "They crushed all my ideals – all my hopes – they made me think of Paris – as Hell, the fools – and Father the Arch Fiend. Bon Dieu – I was friendless – homeless – helpless. Then Lord Mandeville came – and engaged himself to me – yes, that's the way to put it – and we've been married nine months."

The man turned sharply – he was breathing hard.

"Ah! it is true," said Yvonne. "He thought he had never seen anyone so pale – and – think – here I am. I thought – once I married, I would be freer – but I'm *caged*. This great heavy brute who whistles 'Little Mary' out of tune the whole day long – and who doesn't know a picture from a whisky advertisement. He's my husband – pity me," she cried.

Like a child she looked at him and he suddenly caught her in his arms. She felt as though she had left the world altogether. He seemed to give her just that support she had been needing. Jacques bent down and whispered, "Stay here until the Concert is over – and then I will walk home with you. Be a good girl and promise me."

She assented – and he placed her back in the chair. She never moved again – never looked up – or stirred – until he stood before her in his long coat and soft hat. "Come along," he said.

Out in the cold lighted streets they began talking again. He had drawn her arm through his and kept pressing her hand. Each time he did so a tremor ran through her – it was as though she held her life in her hand – and he crushed it – so.

"Is there nowhere where we can talk?" he said. Yvonne thought a moment – then she suddenly laughed.

"Well, there's my house – it's a little gardener's cottage not far from the gate – hidden by trees, from the road and the house. There are just two rooms that I have furnished for myself – and Geoffrey has never been inside the door. We'll go there."

It was almost disappointing. Yvonne could feel unhappy no longer – she could no longer realise what had made her so wretched. Nothing on earth seemed to matter – except that she was alive and loving, and tremendously excited.

"Jacques," she said, "you have all the air of the Great Life round you – you are making me feel again all the adorable irresponsibility of everything."

He laughed shortly. It was making him half mad to walk thus – crushing her hand.

They passed through the wide iron gates.

Yvonne led the way – down an overgrown path – and into a little tree fringed space. There the house stood – a desolate place – she stooped down and groped for the key under the doormat.

"Enter," she said, "and give me some matches."

They walked into a small square room. Yvonne lit four candles on the mantelpiece.

"How do you like it?" she said, joyously.

He looked round – here were all her Paris treasures – her Father's pictures – little odd familiar pieces of drapery – a charcoal sketch of himself at the piano and then he turned and looked at Yvonne.

Her fair shining hair glowed in the candle light – her mouth was scarlet – her eyes, curiously bright. She was still wrapped in her long cloak.

Never before had Yvonne needed so much love in her life. Primitive woman she felt – with primitive impulses – primitive needs – all conventions – all scruples were thrown to the four winds.

Jacques flung off his coat. Then he came forward. She could not look at him – but stood – suddenly silent.

"Here," he said, "let me help you off with this," and caught hold of her cloak.

"Thank you," she murmured – suddenly and absurdly glad that her dress was beautiful. Then he caught hold of her – kissed her – roughly – repeatedly.

"Let me go," she said, "let me go," yet lay passive in his arms.

"Yvonne – Yvonne – look at me."

She put her arms round his neck, and held up her face.

"O, you are killing me," she moaned.

Yvonne – dishevelled – flushed – entered the hall of her home.

Lord Mandeville came out of the library.

"Hallo, what's up – what's the matter?" he said. "Have you had an accident? Where's the carriage?"

"I walked," said Yvonne, "and the wind has blown me about."

"You've cut your lip, or something," said Lord Mandeville, "there's some blood on your chin."

"It's nothing," Yvonne answered.

She slowly mounted the stairs – then looked back over her shoulder. “I’m going to bed.”

“O, alright, hurry up – I’m coming, too. Don’t you want anything to eat?”

“No, thank you.”

When she reached her room she turned on all the lights. There was a large bright fire burning in the grate – the curtains were drawn and the room felt hot – stifling.

She ran to the glass – threw off her cloak and looked at herself, critically.

“O, I have lived – I have lived,” she cried. “And I shall see Jacques tomorrow of course – something beautiful and stupendous is going to happen – I am alive again – at last!”

She threw off her clothes, hastily, brushed out her long hair, and then suddenly looked at the wide, empty bed. A feeling of intolerable disgust came over her. By Lord Mandeville’s pillow she saw a large bottle of Eucalyptus and two clean handkerchiefs. From below in the hall she heard the sound of bolts being drawn – then the electric light switched off.

She sprang into bed – and suddenly, instinctively with a little childish gesture – she put one arm over her face – as though to hide something hideous and dreadful – as her husband’s heavy, ponderous footsteps sounded on the stairs …

About the same time, Jacques Saint Pierre sat in his rooms at the Hotel Manchester, writing a letter –

“To-night – think of it – I saw Yvonne – she is quite a little Society lady – and I assure you – no longer one of us. But she bores me – she has the inevitable feminine passion for trying to relight fires that have long since been ashes. Take care, little one, that you do not – like wise. I hear her husband is very wealthy – and – what they call here – a ‘howling bore’.

Adieu – cherie – I shall be with you in two days – if I manage to avoid the charming Yvonne. There is the penalty, you see, for being so fascinating.

Jacques Saint Pierre.”

Appendix III

Katherine Mansfield, ‘Bites from the Apple’ (1911)

1. Repentance is the duster with which we sop up the spilt milk. It serves its estimable purpose but is nothing but a damp rag afterwards to be thrown into the soiled linen bag.

2. Love is the germ – passion the disease.

3. Take Regret as your mistress but never make her your wife. For she will hang about your neck and twine her arms around your body, and she is heavy to hold as the dead are heavy. Take Regret as your mistress but never make her your wife – for her body is salt to taste with the tears of a thousand lovers and her womb is barren.

4. If a man bore in mind the fact that when he chose his wife his wife also chose him, there would be less talk of the equality of the sexes and more realisation.

5. The average Englishwoman imagines that every Frenchman is a devil – with his horns only half concealed under an opera hat.

6. If you wish to live you must first attend your own funeral.

7. People are charmingly conservative. The story of the Garden of Eden is practically the only plot to fill and refill out West End theatres and the pages of our magazines . . . Domestic felicity destroyed by a twentieth-century serpent in an embroidered shirt front and that dangerous little gift which Eve . . . hands to her husband.

8. Before confessing be perfectly certain that you do not wish to be forgiven.

9. I keep the God of my childhood hanging around my neck by a string, like a little camphor bag – an old-fashioned remedy for warding off infectious and dangerous complaints. Of course there is one disadvantage . . . when I wear evening dress . . . it is impossible. Most women do the same – that is why men find my sex so far more vulnerable when they are décolleté.

10. Enough for the Present – yet they say no woman is ever satisfied – yet she does not wish you to give her a Past.

11. Life's a game of cards – which mainly consists of shuffling.

12. It took a woman to realise the fact that the greatness of great men depends mainly upon the length of their hair.

13. Easy enough to strike a match – but it requires experience to keep a fire burning.

14. If you attempt to pull out the arrow with which Cupid has speared you, be certain that you shall find your heart impaled upon its point. If you let it remain be equally certain that Cupid will call around for it himself and manage the operation with far greater dexterity.

15. ‘Patience’ is a game only for one – if two people wish to play they invariably choose ‘animal grab’.

16. A good figure costs a good figure and is seldom paid for with interest.

17. The man of the people has only one sole which he keeps under his feet . . . that is why it is so often contaminated with the mud on the road.

18. I find substance beautiful for the shadows it throws, just as I find reality bearable for the dreams it brings me.

19. ’Tis better far to count the cost than never to accost at all.

20. Defiance is the trumpet which we blow in the ears of the world. “Ah,” cries the world, turning from us, “how brazen.” But it does not hear the pitiful little attempts that we have made in the privacy of our own room before we were able to emit any sound at all.

21. Epigrams are the froth of life, blown into your face from the waves of the sea. But they leave a bitter taste in the mouth.

22. She wove her thoughts, her desire, her dreams into a long garment of strange colour. And when she had finished the shining length of it she wrapped herself in its folds and went, in the dawn, to the battlefield. And young men in the pride of their youth – women far older and stronger than she, were cut down. The girl stood silently watching. “I have women so strongly,” said she, “that the sharp swords of Reality cannot pierce through my garment of Dreams.” So she smiled . . . But in the full heat of the day she felt heavy and oppressed – the yellow sun beat down upon her. “Oh,” she cried, “I stifle – this heat – I am choking!” and she sought to loosen the heavy folds. But they clung around her, heavily, her arms, yea, even her head and breast, bound round in the shining fabric.

“Alas!” she moaned, “now is mine the more terrible tragedy. For I, too, must die, but never having known the fierce, splendid reality of being wounded.”

23. However frugal the meal that Life shows you, she always gives you your desert.

24. Those who eat greatly of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge must expect to find themselves crucified on the bare branches.

25. One must envy Christ his crucifixion for few indeed of us are permitted at the close of day to cry “It is finished”.

26. One thing keeps me from going into deep waters; I am so afraid of finding shallows there.

27. She gave him a rose and an old glove. He fell down on his knees and cried to her that he worshipped her – the ground she trod on – the image of her hand was sacred to him for Ever. She gave him a little book and a curl of her hair. He flung out his arms . . . did she feel his kisses tangled in the shining web of her curls . . . His heart was bound to her Eternally by that little golden twist. She sent him a letter, and he, by devious lover's arts, found the place where her hand had rested as she signed her name, and he kissed it over and over, and slept with the letter under his pillow. Then she gave him her mouth and he swore Absolute Homage – darkness for him was light, the crooked straight – etc. etc. She gave him herself, and by and bye he pulled out his watch and said: Jove, time was getting on, and would she be at the Foodleum's dance on the 12th of next month? She started laughing, and the pitiful thing is that she cannot stop. The unsophisticated, seeing her face hidden, think that she is drying her tears, but we know better.

28. We are all of us in a gigantic maze – running round and round, but at last, sooner or later, we reach the gate – the station – and breathless, worn out, dishevelled, we fly through – it is locked and barred from us. Where are we now, we ask of the grinning janitor. He does not speak but points to the name on the board – it is Life's last, stupendously fiendish joke – it is her letter of introduction to her superior – Death – the name of the place is Eternity.

29. The sooner Eve meets the serpent the better – then she leaves the Garden of Eden and has the whole world before her.

30. Life's little flutter inevitably ends in broken wings.

31. Dawn is a herald running with wind-tossed hair and rosy feet to cry that Night is fast approaching.

32. To be completely lost is to take the first step towards finding yourself.

33. Reality is only so strong a dream that it becomes a Nightmare.

34. Life is a tremendous game of ‘Hide the Thimble’, without the delicious, childish certainty that there is any thimble to be found.

35. If you must be a moth make the splendid sacrifice worthwhile. Do not revolve around a farthing dip, but, once having chosen your candle with all due consideration take care that you extinguish its flame at your own death. There is something hideously vulgar in the thought that the candle keeps on burning.

36. What so many people seem to forget is that you must have a Past before you can possibly have a Future.

37. I love chance and hate certainty – than the latter there is no more miserable prop to depend upon. Lean on it, and it is hard that it breaks – Chance is a supple thing that has the option of delicately yielding.

38. Turn in upon yourself for comfort and you are like a poor spider caught in the web of its own weaving.

39. If you have once known Love – if you have been chained by him – and he to you – then everything that grows springs as a sign and token from his grave. I walk in the fields and the buttercups are full of the young gold in his hair – these flowers – growing strongly scarlet are full of the passion of his red mouth – I put my arms round a tree and it is not strong and more lean than his young body. If you would find Peace in the silent places do not go to them as a lover with a sick heart to be cured but as a child, who, knowing nothing of Death finds but an infinitely sweet promise – a prophecy that is always just about to be fulfilled. Who finds Autumn – Spring in a dream – Winter – Summer in the enchanted sleep that is broken by a kiss.

40. There is the gift that we can do very well without – it is the Present that the Past persists in thrusting upon us.

41. Love is the Wine of Life – Marriage the non-alcoholic beverage.

42. Of course the game is worth a candle, but it is often better played without one.

43. Of course most people keep a skeleton in the cupboard. The trouble with the majority of women is that they will persist in shutting themselves up in that cupboard with that skeleton . . .

44. Small wonder that a pillar box is such a channel for gossip – like a woman, it never shuts its mouth.

45. Love has grown blind through being kept so long in the dark.

46. The secret of remaining satisfied is to make it a rule to leave the table long before you have had enough.

47. In these days of social depravity we do not look under the bed before retiring, but in it.

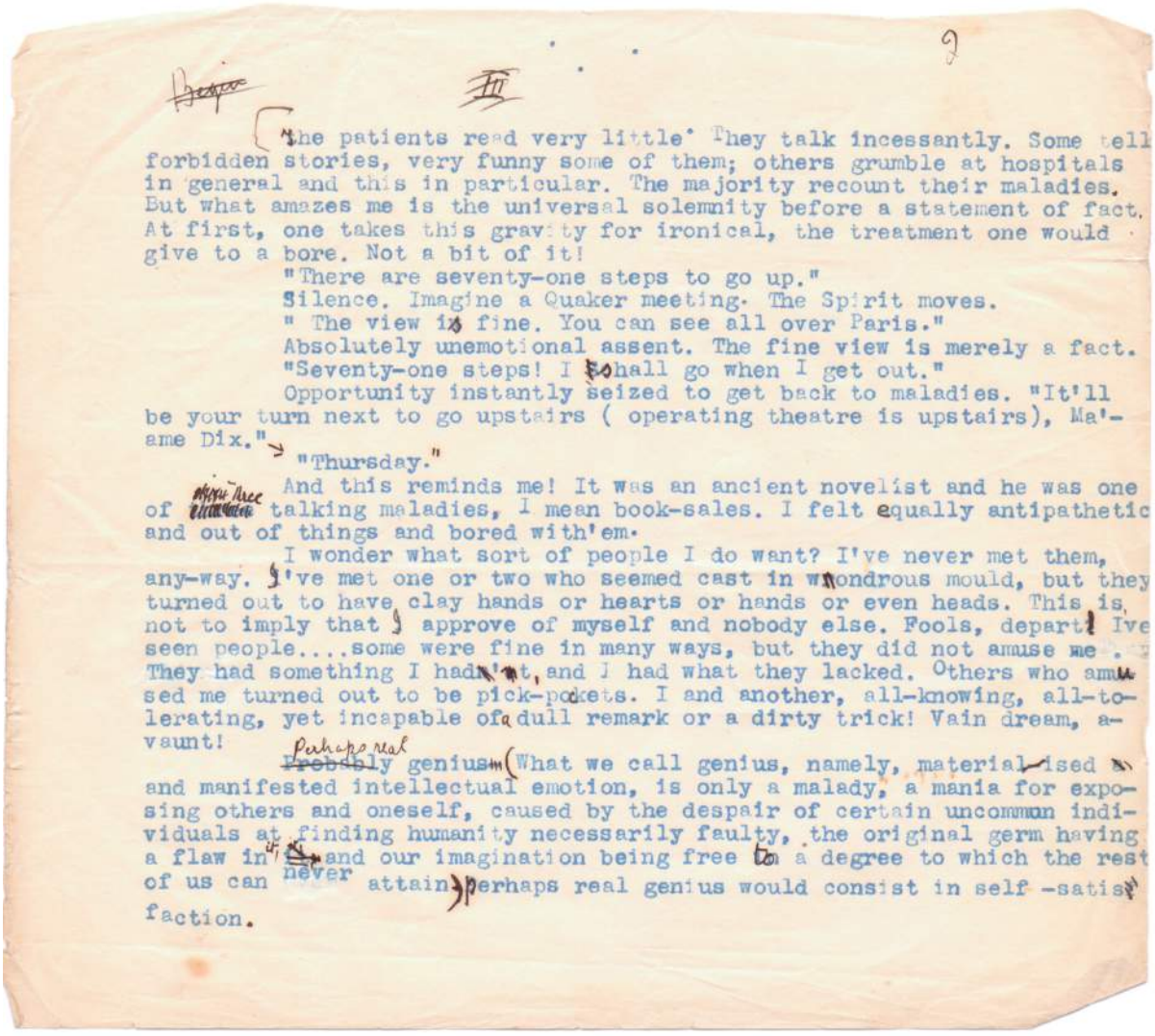
48. Progressive women can never be popular – why Eve gave Adam the pip – what can you expect. However, generous soul! he did not keep it, but have it her for seed – And wasn't she wild! She just raised Cain as far as she was Able (Abel.)

49. Love feeds upon itself – that is why it is so soon starved to Death.

50. The classic is that which is eternally modern – the modern that which can never be classic.

Appendix IV

Beatrice Hastings, Fragments (1920)[1]



The patients read very little. They talk incessantly. Some tell forbidden stories, very funny some of them; others grumble at hospitals in general and this in particular. The majority recount their maladies. But what amazes me is the universal solemnity before a statement of fact. At first, one takes this gravity for ironical, the treatment one would give to a bore. Not a bit of it!

"There are seventy-one steps to go up."

Silence. Imagine a Quaker meeting. The Spirit moves.

" The view is fine. You can see all over Paris."

Absolutely unemotional assent. The fine view is merely a fact.

"Seventy-one steps! I shall go when I get out."

Opportunity instantly seized to get back to maladies. "It'll be your turn next to go upstairs (operating theatre is upstairs), Ma'-ame Dix."

"Thursday."

And this reminds me! It was an ancient novelist and he was one of talking maladies, I mean book-sales. I felt equally antipathetic and out of things and bored with'em.

I wonder what sort of people I do want? I've never met them, any-way. I've met one or two who seemed cast in wondrous mould, but they turned out to have clay hands or hearts or hands or even heads. This is, not to imply that I approve of myself and nobody else. Fools, depart! Ive seen people....some were fine in many ways, but they did not amuse me. They had something I had not, and I had what they lacked. Others who amused me turned out to be pick-pockets. I and another, all-knowing, all-tolerating, yet incapable of a dull remark or a dirty trick! Vain dream, a-vaunt!

Perhaps real genius (What we call genius, namely, materialised and manifested intellectual emotion, is only a malady, a mania for exposing others and oneself, caused by the despair of certain uncommun individuals at finding humanity necessarily faulty, the original germ having a flaw in it, and our imagination being free to a degree to which the rest of us can never attain) perhaps real genius would consist in self-satisfaction.

[1] The following fragments of typescript were found together with a notebook containing a 'dream diary' kept by Hastings towards the end of her life in a collection of archival material relating to *Adam International Review*, held by Miron Grindea's daughter Nadia Lasserson. Along with two previously unknown portraits of Hastings by Modigliani, one of which is reproduced in this thesis (Figure 16), these typescripts were given to Grindea by Doris Green, the nurse who cared for Hastings in the last years of her life in Worthing. On 14 October 1943, Hastings wrote to the British Museum offering all her manuscripts and typescripts, but a fortnight later she received an official refusal; the same night, she destroyed most of her writings and letters before gassing herself, holding her white pet mouse by her side. These fragments and the 'dream diary' are the only known writings by Hastings that survived this attempted self-erasure from the literary record. The following fragments are all drafts for 'Madame Six', written by Hastings whilst confined to a cancer ward in Paris in 1920 and published in 1932 in the periodical she edited, and was the sole contributor to, *The Straight Thinker*.

behind the author of" Le Coeur Innombrable!" Colette, too, has the Cross. Delicious person! But I know more than one english woman-writer - what a world! - who would have had nothing to concede to Colette had she, the said woman-writer, not been English.

Dickens knew, and he was a Man, that one cannot write well for the British public. "If I had not been an Englishman, I should have been a great writer," said he.

***

They have opened the window level with my bed. I seem to lie out of doors. I am enchanted by the black trunk of a lime-tree amid big shining greeny-yellowy leaves. For the moment I don't care about anything else.

(To be continued.)

***

Always, given the chance, I would cut and run.

I know what makes women like to have followers - my will-power. It is extremely distinguished, and not exactly under my conscious control. Naked will to will, I have never met anyone to fear. I have three times beaten dangerous men with my regard alone, on each occasion being beyond any help. I was once able with my voice in a phrase or two to steady a man murderously drunk and blind with rage, whose victim kneeled behind me: this was on a public bridge and scores of people stood away, afraid to interfere. Yet, physically, I am not a hard'un. My force is purely moral. When I interview anyone, I gain what is essential, what I feel must be gained - must!

This will-power, which I have never abused or strained, is at my command only when I really need it. I cannot summon it without reason worthy of it.

On the other hand, I understand nothing of intrigue. I rage in the nets and pull them tighter. Wherefore, I fear women reasonably, and they fear me instinctively. Often, they explain their fear of me by accusing me of sex-rivalry. This makes me smile. I have never but once in my whole life - this long and so peopled life - taken another woman's man, and then at first I had not know of her existence, and anyway they were on the point of publicly separating. I am so stuck-up that the mere discovery that a man I want is interested in any other than me destroys my desire for him. A married man were as welcome in my arms as a frozen snake, less so! (But I touch wood. An aversion so starkly stated must be on the point of metamorphosis.) Ha, and those women jealous of me whose husbands had beards. Could they have only known! Not Croesus, not Beethoven, not Napoleon, not Jupiter or Apollo - not any the greatest in any way ever recorded could make pleasing impression on me from behind a beard. (This, also, may be on the way to changing!) I get on well with bearded men because I treat them with most respectful and considerate young womanishness. But they are all to me as my Father, whatever their age. C'est plus fort que moi.

Spect me, & some men, especially men in cliques or who

Delete all This.

VII.

Madame Sin

(An Englishwoman in a French Capital. 1920) VII

Plain statement: I detest Dante. Pettifogging little Italian provincial Virgil, a good wit, thought his poetical stuff only good enough to burn, but Dante found it good enough to open the gates of hell. Orpheus himself, son of a god and a muse, came short of what Dante awards to Virgil, a human obliged to correct his lines. I detest also Milton, Aeschyles, Racine, and a few others, notwithstanding that the work of each gives me intellectual interest. Not a bonhomme among them; and for me, Shakespeare, and all that ilk, bonhomie is the first quality. Naturally, all the bores think us vulgar, repellent, & want to Bowdlerise us. Stendhal terribly shocked those two stodgy Bohemians, George Sand & De Musset, by laughing at, I think, some monument in a church.

I think I got that from Stendhal.

It would take a lot of people in one to make good company for me. For instance, on occasions I read, I absorb, I soak in Pierre Loti in all and any of his humours - delicate, shrewd old maid, or prophet deprived even of despair - but I don't think Loti would stand me in some my humours. I hope he might, but cannot believe so. I'm afraid I have some moods extra-Loti. Anatole France - would he see the rights of Thérèse suddenly smitten with the wit of a page-boy? Shakespeare knew people like me. He was one himself. One can imagine such a man capable of playing in real life every rôle in his theatre, even Voices Off. Ihave more than once played Voices Off- et ego.

Most people could only double their roles, even in imagination, at the risk of going mad. Their brain would not re-establish its equilibrium. I expect it is a necessary part of the gift of to be able to regain the centre before arriving actually at the gates of the asylum or in the dock. Nothing of all this is yet suspected, except by a few psychologists; they mostly deal with the failures.

"doubling"

Nothing out of the common sense can be understood by the general. If, as some poets seem to claim, the Poet is the ordained leader of men, he is likely, nevertheless, to have to mark time until the earth grow cold as the moon; or, at best, to lead men around and around like gold-fish in a bowl. For if it has been given to him to lead, it has not been given to many to move with impunity from madness, to follow even a hair's breadth aside from the eternal round. Nothing outside common sense, that is, what men know already and can judge, can be communicated. Certain people who get a swimmy feeling from reading the writings of poets and think they understand, will prefer to believe that I blaspheme them.

. . .

One would be foolish to believe lightly in the goodness of ugly people . Why credit such a miracle? Even the handsome can barely do handsomely once in a while.

. .

I can lift up an inch or so in my bed and look over the screen to the other end of he ward. The other end is nearly all of glass and gives on a corridor with vast windows. And beyond that, are the gardens of the Luxembourg. Imagine them on a shiny October morning under a silky blue Paris sky! I don't want to be wicked any more just now.

-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-

Too naive to know that half his naievety is wilful.

Here am I making paradoxes in the misty ~~dawn~~ Twilight. ~~This comes of reading Pound's poems.~~ And now writing this stuff again! ~~I had given it up since several days, more sensibly devoting my energies to a pot-boiler. I ought to be pot-boiling now, not conjuring Pound. It would be an Idea to try and sell these impressions of Madame Six. Why not? They are really worth more than my pot-boiler. I might send them to the "Dial"-company not too impossible, and anyway, I've come down in my ideas since the war and barriers burned away as it were and making it difficult to be a really first-class literary prig.~~ I should not, however, send them through Pound, as I like some of his things and want to say so, and, if he took my work people would say it was beause I had buttered him. Oh, yes, they would. Once on a time, I would have scoffed at the notion of such wickedness as not possibly the Thing. Now, I know that it is the only thing Possible. I have had some eye-openers about the literary and artistic world since I got out in it all alone. Widest eye-opener is that style really often is the man behind the pen.

My private diary and correspondence will bear me out after I am dead?

Too naive to know that half of his naivety is wilful. Not forgotten yet? Is it to mean that, with one half of his naivety, he ignores that the other half is wilful? Or that..... No! Stop! that way leadeth to Limbo and Vernon Lee. She probably took no more fatal-seeming a First Step to Tweedeedledum than my amusing-looking paradox. I abandon it. Another mouse runs. I wonder whether all these review-writers of personal reminiscences claiming Sincerity would stand for it themselves? Hueffer, for instance. Suppose I said now what I really thought about him and his wife - Violet something - a very nice woman, only rather too nervous about Hueffer's social duty to pass for a wit.

Autumn-gloried

However, I never yet got beyond the first chapter of a P.B.

(a literary wisdom)

And so on, through all the Celebrities I have Met. Not more than met, mostly, for I had the social folly never to live in London, but au fond-fond of the country. Lord knows what I meant to hang all this on to: Oh, yes - how would they like it? But I haven't said a ti-the! Nobody would stand for it. Then, what use in these reminiscences of folk whom one must flatter in a kind of jolly, diplomatically defiant sub-lingo. And yet, every review one takes up nowadays contains Someone's souvenirs.

Where is Pound all this time? "Stumbling, stumbling along in the wood, muttering, muttering Ovid." Be not ireful, O Pound! I mock not, although that strain of yours it has a distinctly doggerelly catch said like that. It triples along out of step with the rest of the Fourth Canto where P. is evidently seeking the as yet imperfect five-beat tonic-accent rhythm which someone will one day perfect and leave for a classic, but which, so far, only about three (perhaps) people have a notion of
And I don't know whether they know what they're at. Browning blundered around this rhythm, but never got nearer than a redundant monstrous pentameter. The same thing has always happened to every new rhythm. It was struck more or less falsely until a real poet beat it once and for all. The monkey-tribe will have small luck with the Fiver. Their very best will sound like bad Browning; and their worst like - I don't know what, and don't care. My piqure is hurting.

-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-

Ch. IX

October 23. To feel alone. To long to howl like a dingo. To be never alone. What an unnatural situation. (1925. And yet when, later, they lodged me in a little room, I begged to be put back in the ward! This, though, was mainly to escape a nasty nurse - I suppose every hospital must contain one such at least, as recruit from heaven....

-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-

I have often put up with the second-best and the forty-second, but not one instant after I realised it. If all people were like me, the race would come to a timely end. But why should I consider myself worthy only of the Best! Perhaps the Best is only as good as me. Poor me! Miserable, vain-glorious, pitiable..... Rot!..... I'm really as proud of myself as Satan.

-:-:-:-:-: :-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-

This world is the empire of the Devil, the best proof being that we cannot be quite sure of it - a truly diabolical arrangement.

. . .

Man, O man, with a hitherto impeccable wife aged between thirty-five and forty, shut thine eye to her infidelities ! Thus, wilt thou change her - she who is beginning to wonder which poison runs least risk of discovery - into a friend who will seek to prolong thy days. She may even exalt thee from tacit complice to confidant, beyond which ye most parfaite union cannot go.

. . .

Men are terrified into believing in justice. Who dare say to himself - "It is possible that God exists and is unjust ? - that He may throw me into hell-fire simply to amuse himself with my suffering". An Almighty Nero ! The idea is unsupportable.

Suppose that, although this side of death the idea be unsupportable to the human reason which rejects it - it were not on the other side ? Suppose that we survive, that we know, realise, and suffer without limit ? Suppose that all which we deny from horror of it were true ? Madmen's food !

. . .

Clouds and house-tops. Idotic, meaningless, inescapable proximity of the sky . One needs live in a city to formulate this which horrifies and is incomprehensible. The average happy mortal, however, only looks at the sky to see whether or no he should take an umbrella. Beyond this, his thought is limited to house-tops; these alone exist, the clouds don't, these eternal companions of our prison. God's mercy, no doubt. The clouds also, probably ignore their state - or perhaps they imagine that men were made to be rained on and thus justify the existence of clouds, an instance of the loving forethought of the Creator of clouds. (I be cracked to-day I be).

. . .

Ch. IX

Robert in front

hard drinker

of the arts - mine had and has to the fourth and latest generation . Eugenics! Say, friend Charles, so far back as you know, your family has never produced a [illegible] or anything naughty : but what a collection of consumptives, lunatics and old maids! Comparison of our two families would drive anyone to drink as the surer road to physical and mental health and posterity.

rades were jealous of her."
Once upon a time, I would not have taken these sentences for granted. It was when the envious, jealous and cunning simply did not exist for me .

. .
.

If I could only get out of this habit I still have of regarding these bipeds as human all through! Time after time, I see the teeth of a wolf, the eyes of a fox, the lips of a bear, the nose of an ape, the forhead of a goat - and I fail to stand on guard.

Ch. VIII

this stupifies me.
A drop of something thick and bitter exudes from almost everyone of these sparkling pages. ~~Necessarily, I like him,~~ of this brilliant man disillusioned. And he talks since 1914 as well as before. No-one who merely talked before can matter much to us at present. And to us, what matters? Since 1914, Rodin is buried and Anatole France is married and Mac Swiney starved to death. It is all prodigious and does not matter a bit, for we are all going into the dark pell-mell. I do not expect ever again to set eyes on a war-free world.

One finds that the aristocracy in regarding artists of all kinds as bounders is largely right. This doesn't mean that these bipeds of talent, will merely rob, murder and rape – I have done all that myself without being a bounder; but they will do the little mean things impossible to any other sort of animal. It took me a long while, about thirty years, to discover that most of the men and women whose names are known half over the penny world come from common families, that is from families without natural distinctions. If eugenics were worth anything, it would not bother simply finding out whose grandfather died waving the thyrsus – mine did – was handsome – mine was – could carry his liquor – mine could – and a good proportion of descendants capable

but whether he spoke well – mine did –

A reason why certain persons may dislike me! If they have a small, and especially a mean, grievance, they find it difficult to say so to my face which, although it usually leans to one side, has a way of suddenly sitting up very straight. I, unconscious of sin, and too short-sighted to read their furtively hostile thoughts, continue my usual light behaviour which must then seem of the most exasperating and even brutal arrogance.

Another reason. I have the spontaneity of a lunatic. To this however, they have a reply, the Mob – silent contempt. A man I don't know spelled "Skeptic" in a American review. His article pleased me on the whole. I dashed off two or tree arguments against the impossible & and sent them to him. Silent contempt. Another man sent me what he supposed to be free verse. I amiably detected for him several well-marked stock rhythms. Silent contempt.

I am leaving here in a few days, not quite cured. I am for a month to lead a quiet life outside, although necessarily more active than in here, and to see what happens. If nothing ill arrives, there may be no need to operate. This is the sixtieth day I am here under the great window above the garden. The trees were still in leaf when I came. Now they are stripped.

My mind is uneasy about everything outside. I don't want to go.

Suddenly to this bed mounts the breath of Paris. Against all reason, I begin romancing! I imagine that somewhere in the world is flying about like a bird uncertain where to alight, and seeking Me – the last Adventure.

December 1920

To Huxley I would say, "Aldington, who is a better poet by far than most of the men he writes about, in his note concernin your production of "Keatsian rabbits" while reproving your brother conjurors for that kind of juggling, proved that you were at that moment either a knave or a fool. Nuff sed. ~~I might add that I think you merely a coin to your shame be it said. I remember your remark about Cocteau "writing Shakespere was present at the Elysée Theatre. Just yes bet him present in one of your plays! It's so easy, don't you know, that sort of thing."~~

To H.D. "Whimpering rhythms, sniffy, mangy, pinch-nostrilled rhythms. The pause to sniff perceptible in every line. However have men come to take seriously for the Muses these prunes-and-prisms, thin-lipped, sneezing old virgins! I haven't read much of you. Should be surprised to find anything which needed the lungs open, anything which couldn't be said with the nose nipped and the lips pursed ~~curse~~. Your employment of the sea and the gods, etc. is only camouflage. Your soul is perpetually confined to bed with a bad cold. N.B. Pleasant surprises cheerfully received."

As for Flint - no journal would print what I should be inclined to say about this literary Albert Memorial. Flint emitting the Tragic Bleat in an Ode on a Decayed Babbage abandoned in Covent Garden Market! I never see his name on a page but my features crisp like a cat's in fear of what is coming. I can't even find his French gaffes funny. He told me once that he hadn't read "much" of Spenser. From his manner I believed he had, and had got up to where Spenser pulls the leg of the Flints of his day, the which someone had explained to him.

There! who wants criticism of this kind? I gave out sich weekly for five years, and I know that each man approves of it for somebody else, but that the more he merits it himself, the less, when he gets it, does he believe in the writer's common honesty - puts all down to private spite or what-not. Quite natural this, vu la couleur de la bête. I hope that those to whom I am new among my friends mentioned above will accept my sworn word that I bear none but critical ill-will. I shall probably regret even this. How often alas! has it not been my portion on beholding one or other of

and in a style which I shall never again work on the wicked,

Why cannot I accept the fact that life is a dull affair! On s'amuse, mais comme c'est triste tout de même!

In "chez de Max", one of my finds in the cantine, one franc, the actor tells little anecdotes about a crowd of people. Of many of them I could tell much livelier, so could he doubtless. Why make them so dull? He lets me know that Loti is excessively proud of his shoulders and his muscles. Is it possible that one can be Loti and proud of one' shoulders? Help!

I am despised by London, so I hear, for not having found a footing in Paris. I am nobody, it appears, unless a wildly scandalous tradition may be said to represent me. I belong to no Group. People cant find me when they rush over for Bank Holiday. and so on.

Stet (keep in)

I accept all that as meritorious. Dame! The rare intelligent bird who comes over to spy out the land invariably goes back with a bad report of it - nothing doing, faded, stale, bombastic, foolish etc. The only novelty is the new maquereauism: you legally marry your grue nowadays, set her to painting or other art and, unless she takes herself too seriously, you soon double the family income, for nothing succeeds nowadays like your wife's art. The stage began all this; for the last twenty years, actors have been launching their wives. At length, artists have discovered the stunt. There is a new study for someone in Montparnasse : La Bourgeoisette. It is Musette and Mimi and above all, Phoebe, furnished with a diploma from the Mairie and a palette, a market-basket and legitimate infant. There is a round dozen of such in the quarter. I will not cite the name of a famous peintre who by way of disparaging me doubted whether I had been legally married. Such a shot at me-me ! but at anyone could never since 1890 have been fired outside Montparnasse. In London, even if people were not sure, they would at least be sure that you wouldn't care for them to be.
Why then do I stay, Really, nothing to do with the art jungle and its denizens. In Paris, no dogs bark at night or any barrel-organs by day. These two pests drove me out London.

15th.

Ch. X

My piqures are doing spendid. If they go on like this, I may get off this time with a caution, without an operation. The doctor is very pleased with me, and I am accumulating for him a passion which makes my hair curl. It is partly the influence of this tree outside. I adore the tree, and when the doctor stands beside my bed I see him as it were haloed by my woody love.

Out of two books I have looked in to-day:
"As the affection one for another between Alphonse XII and Marie Christine was absolute...evidently the envious, the jealous and the cunning could not rest content." (La cour d'Espagne intime.)
And Flaubert's "Coeur simple" - "As she pleased her employers, her comrades were jealous of her"

-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-:-

Good manners: I don't know what they are. In one or other degree (if not the first, then the hundred and first) of society, every word and act of sincerity may be called bad manners. Don't care what they are.

The Luxembourg looks beautiful. Why do I think it beautiful when I know that people, you and I, are not? Who said it was beauty? What value has it against the brutality of the world? I grow enraged against it as against some kind of decoy. But since beauty is only what I choose to think, I should grow enraged against myself for treasuring a false coin and imagining to pay my way through life with it.

***

My tea! It comes up in a white jug marked F.E. Femme Enceinte. The Dispensary thus justifies itself in sending forth a liquid which its other name is Whim or Loubie in a French hospital. I wax indignant, but I drink. Yesterday, they made a mistake and sent tea mixed with rum. I lay low and drank it joyfully. No developments so far.

. . .

We pardon everything provided we can sharpen our wits on it, but mean persons punish all the same. A certain type of criminal judge will one day be accounted the most disgusting phenomenon of our disgusting social system.

. .

Alict's French verse is no more rhythmical than his English. Edgar Jepson or another will call the stuff Free Verse and the Expression of His Personality. This last frequently stands Our Modern Poets in stead of Workmanship.

Appendix V

Illustrations

Figure 1: previously unidentified portrait of Katherine Mansfield by Anne Estelle Rice (c. 1918)

First reproduced in *Adam International Review*, 300 (1965), p. 80

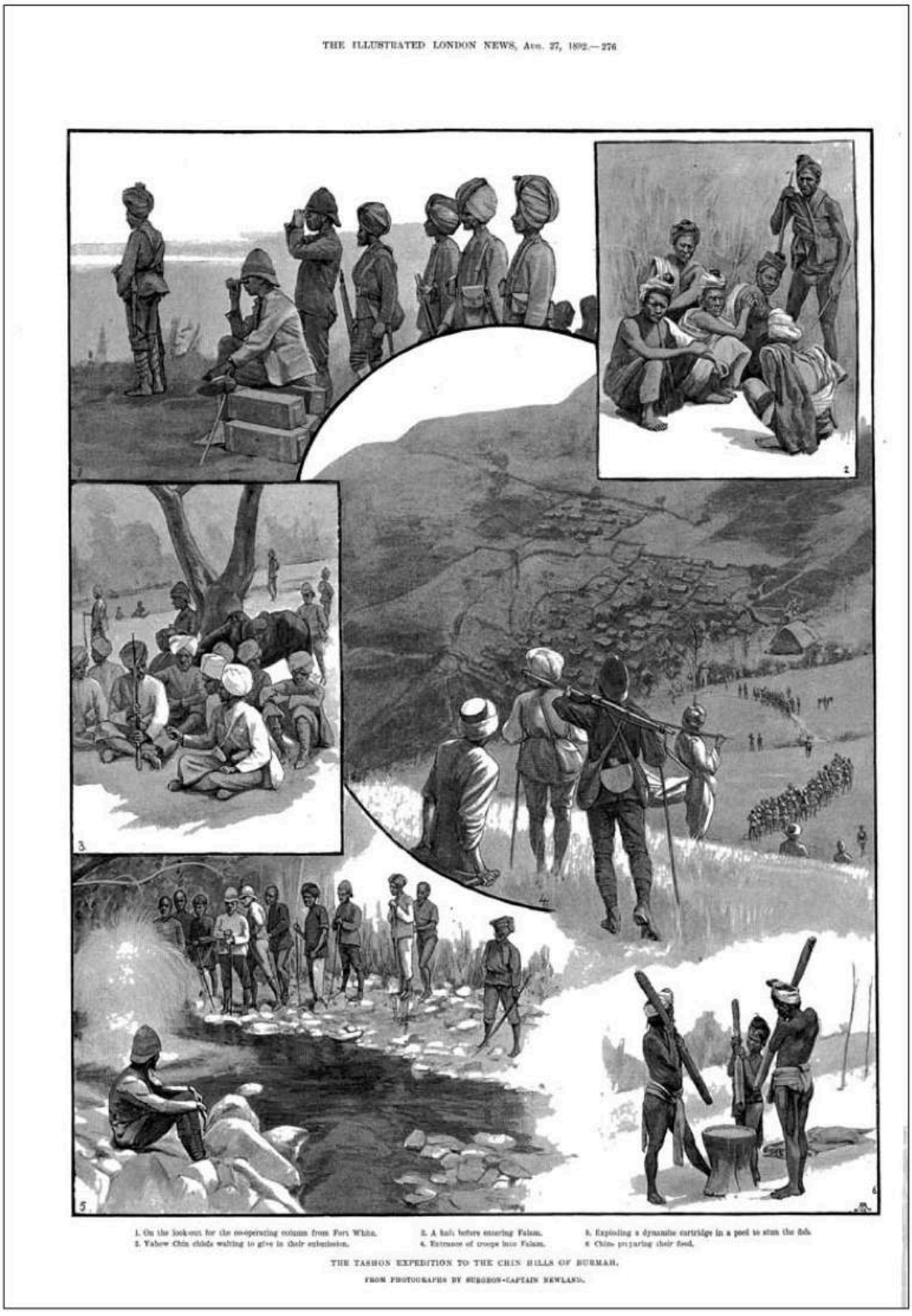


Figure 2: *The Illustrated London News* (1892)

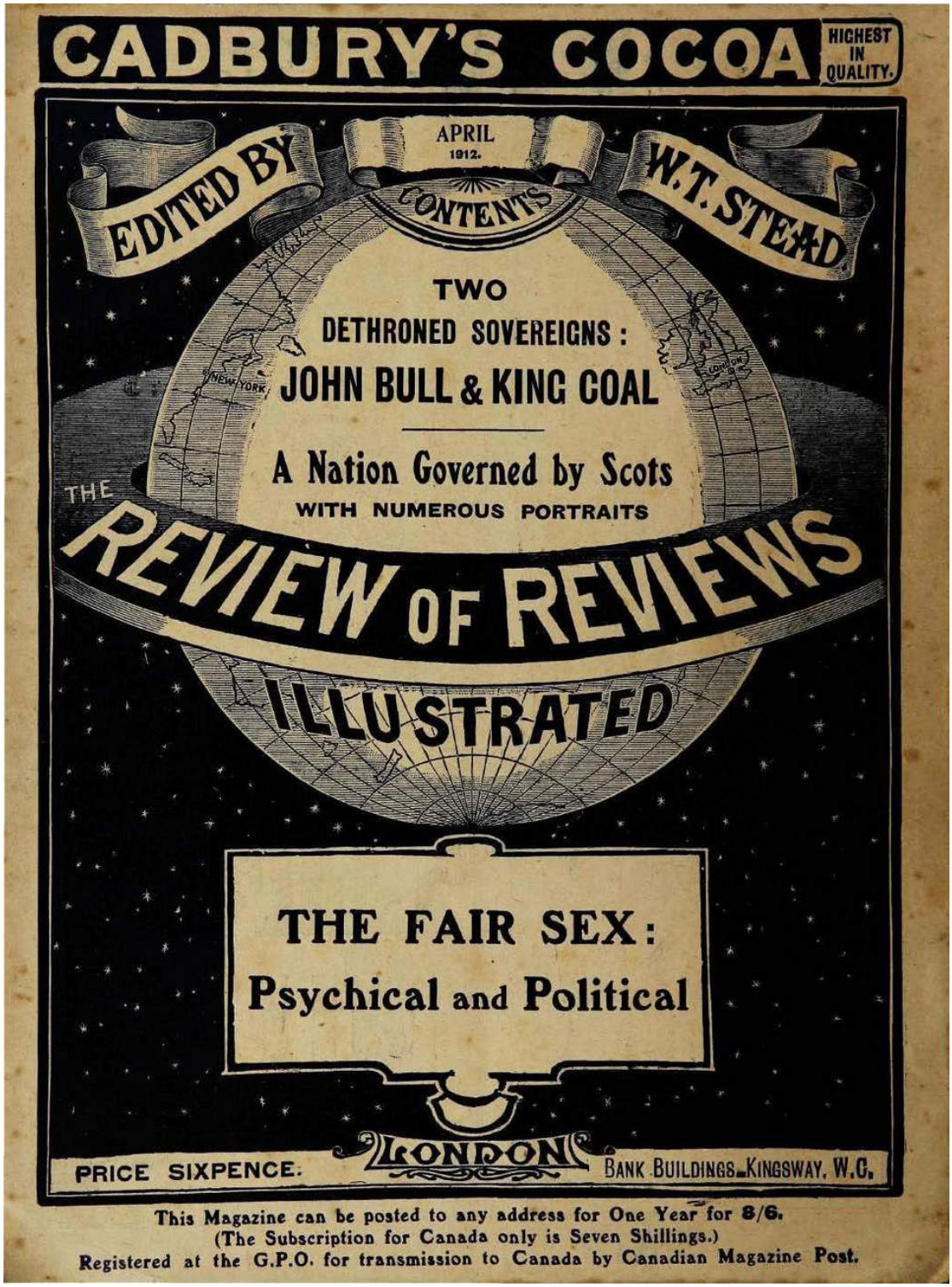


Figure 3: *The Review of Reviews* (April 1912)

Figure 4: 'The "New Age" World' in *The New Age*, 6.18, Literary Supplement (March 3, 1910)

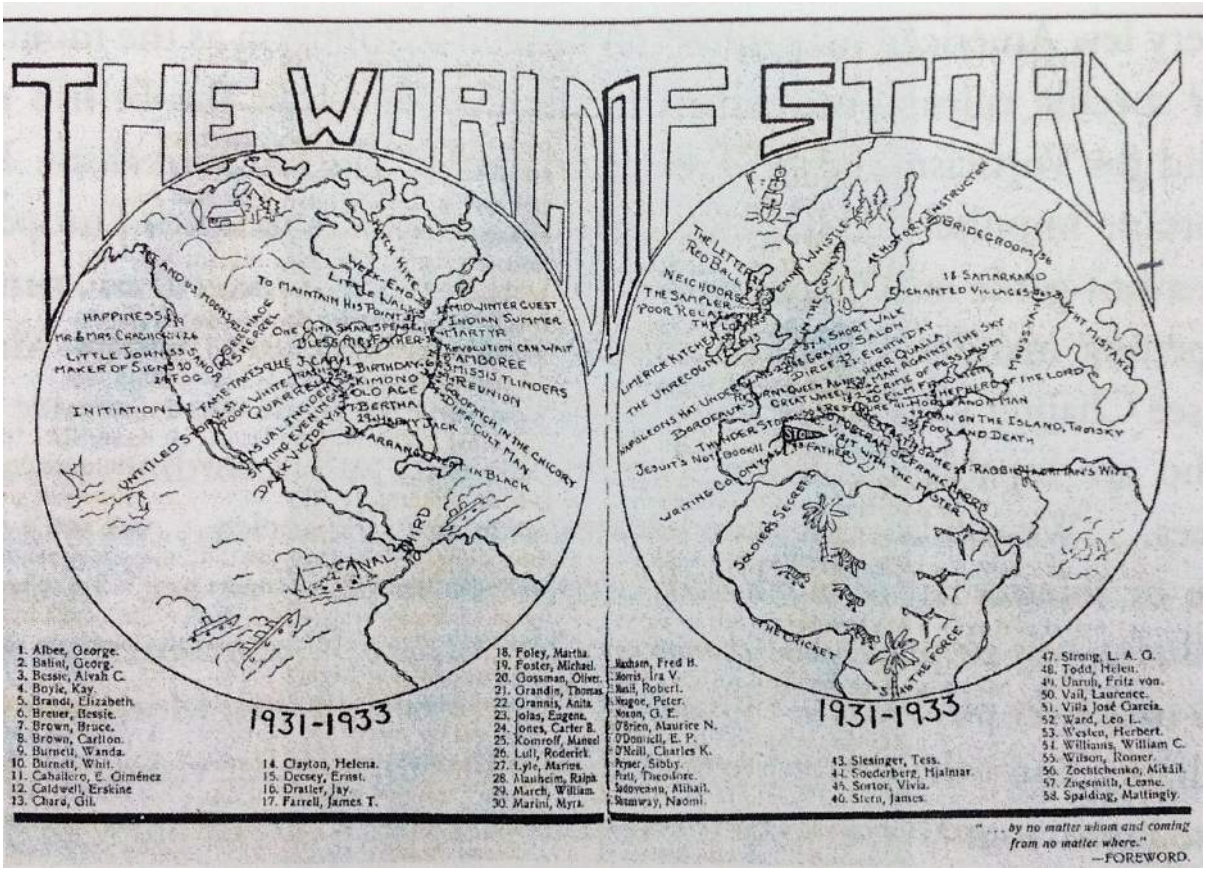
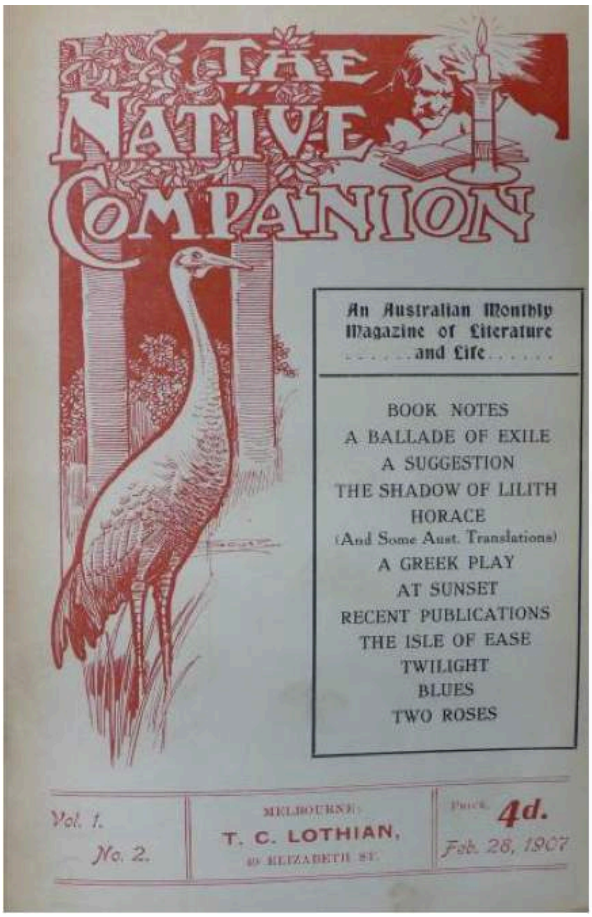
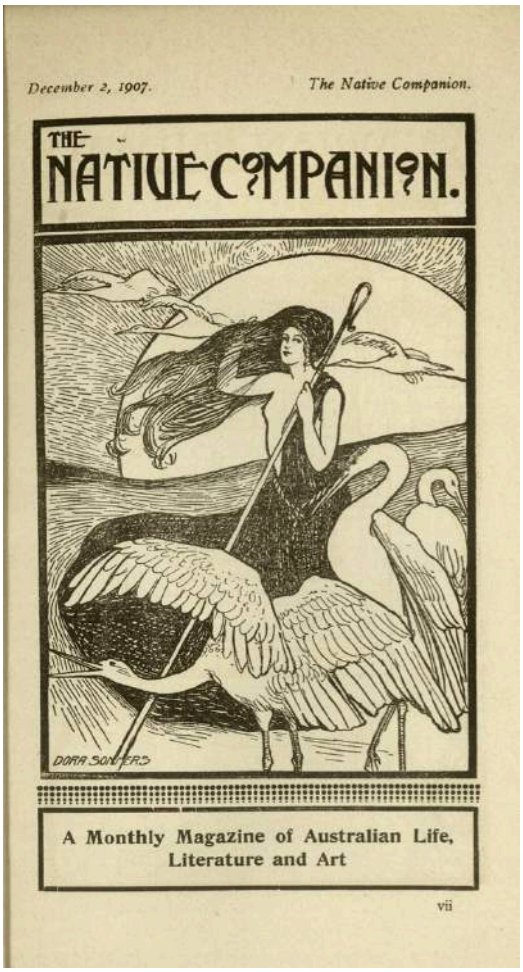


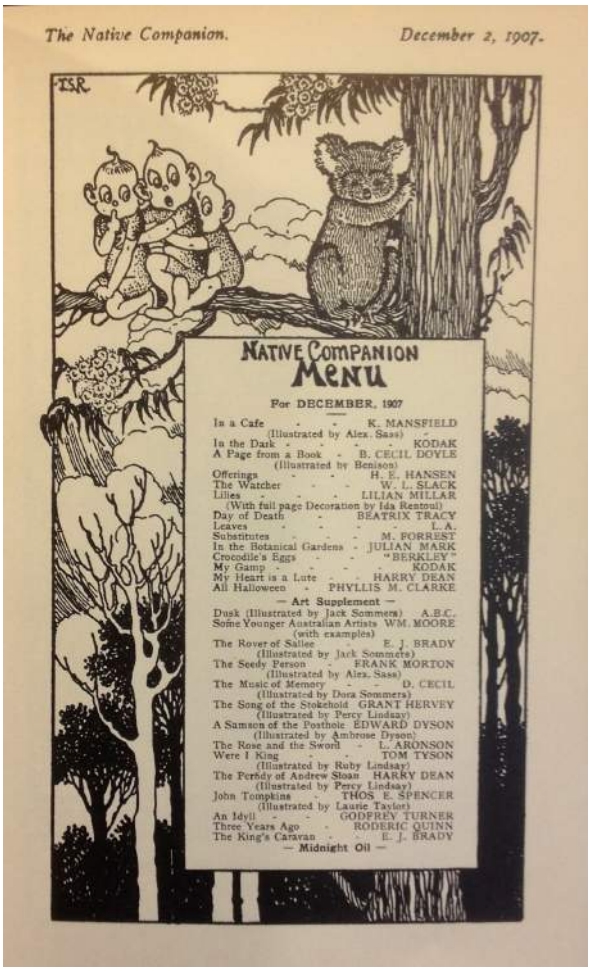
Figure 5: 'The World of Story' in *Story* (Dec. 1932)



Figures 6 and 7: *The Native Companion* (Feb. and Aug. 1907)

Figure 8: *The Native Companion* (Nov. 1907)





Figures 9 and 10: *The Native Companion* (Dec. 1907)

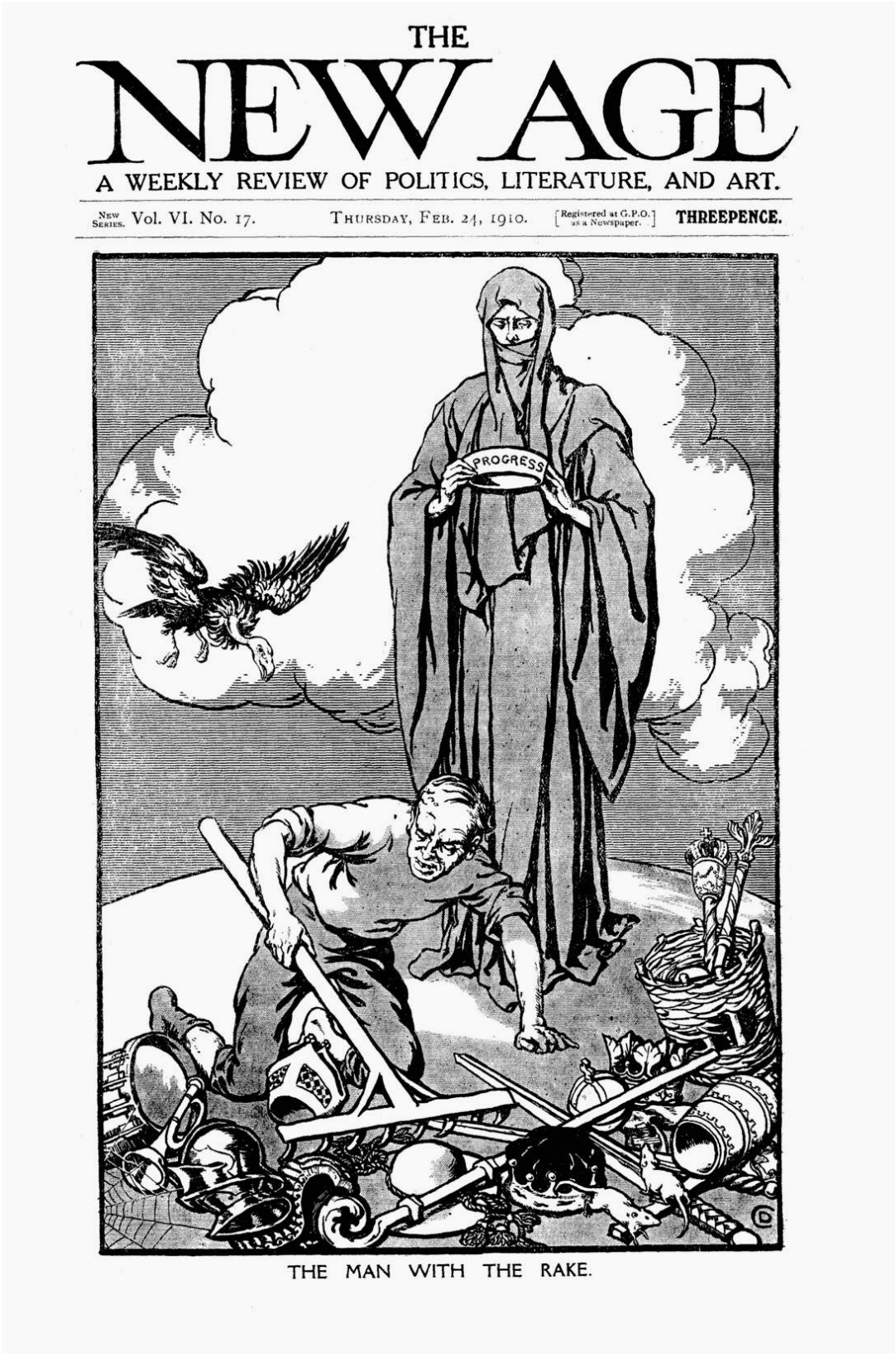


Figure 11: *The New Age*, 6.17 (Feb. 24, 1910)

Cover of the issue containing Mansfield's first contribution to *The New Age*

Figure 12: Beatrice Hastings, ‘In full revolt’ (aged 19, 1898)

Figure 13: Beatrice Hastings, photographed by Man Ray in Paris (Nov. 1921)

Figure 14: Beatrice Hastings (unknown date)

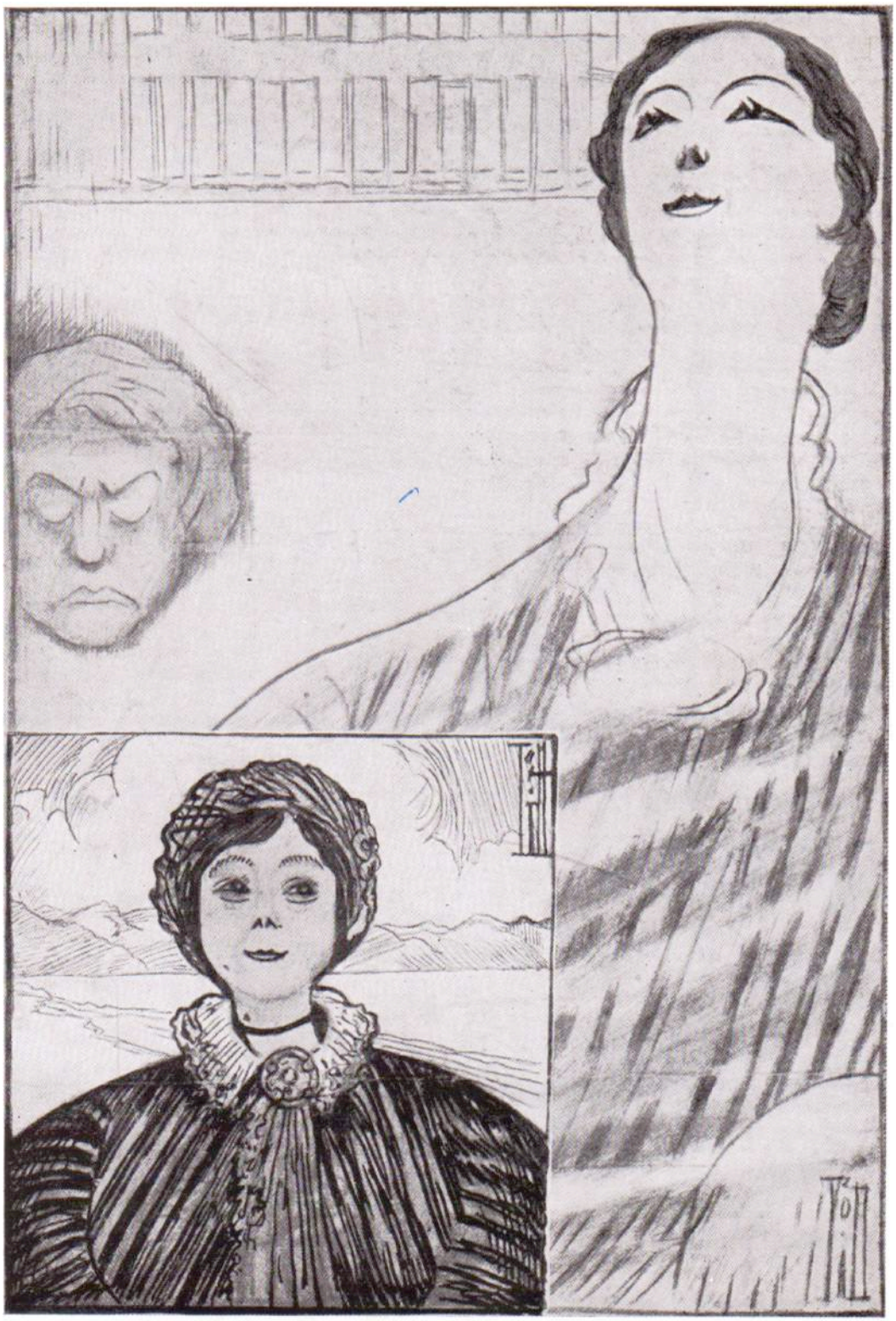


Figure 15: Beatrice Hastings, by ‘Tom Titt’ (Jan Junosza de Rosciszewski)

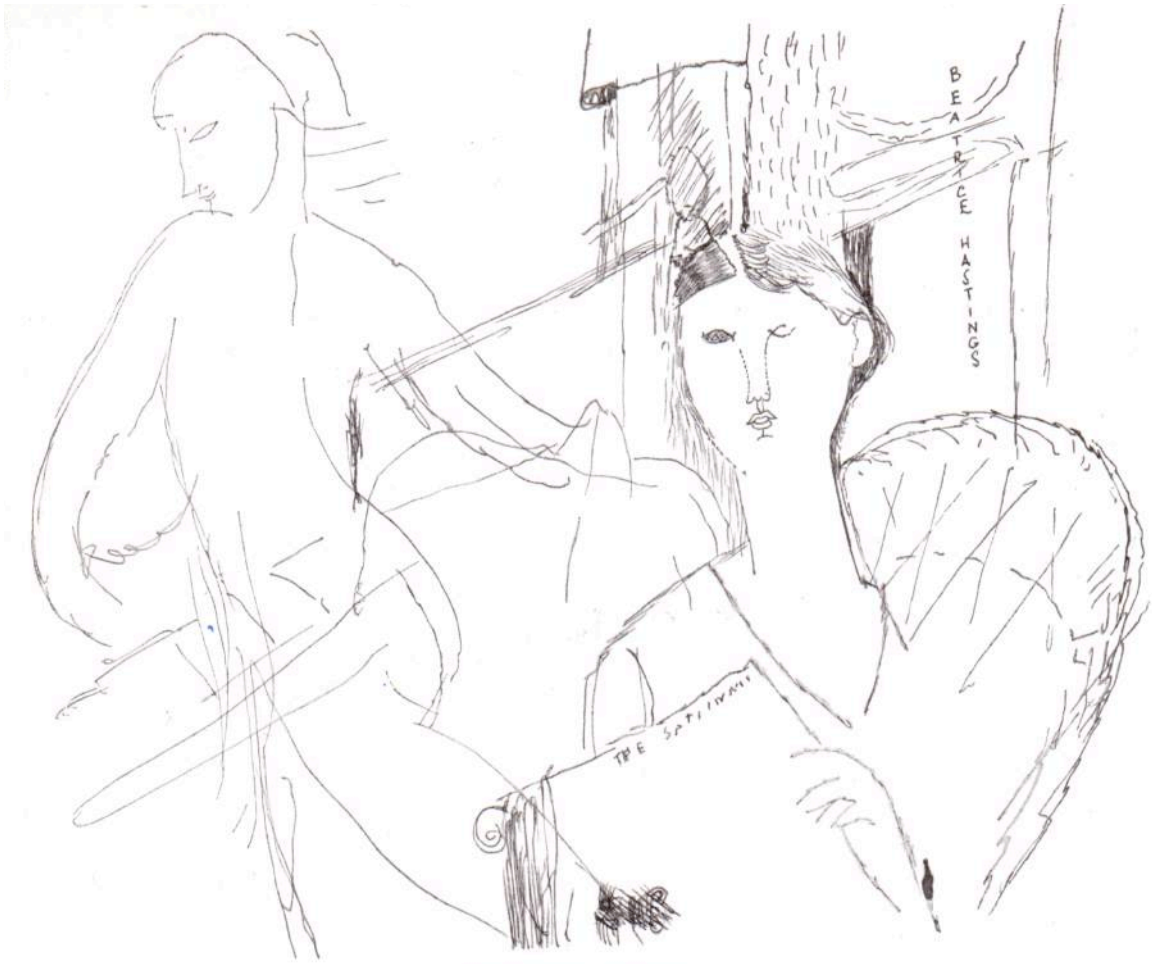


Figure 16: Beatrice Hastings, by Amedeo Modigliani

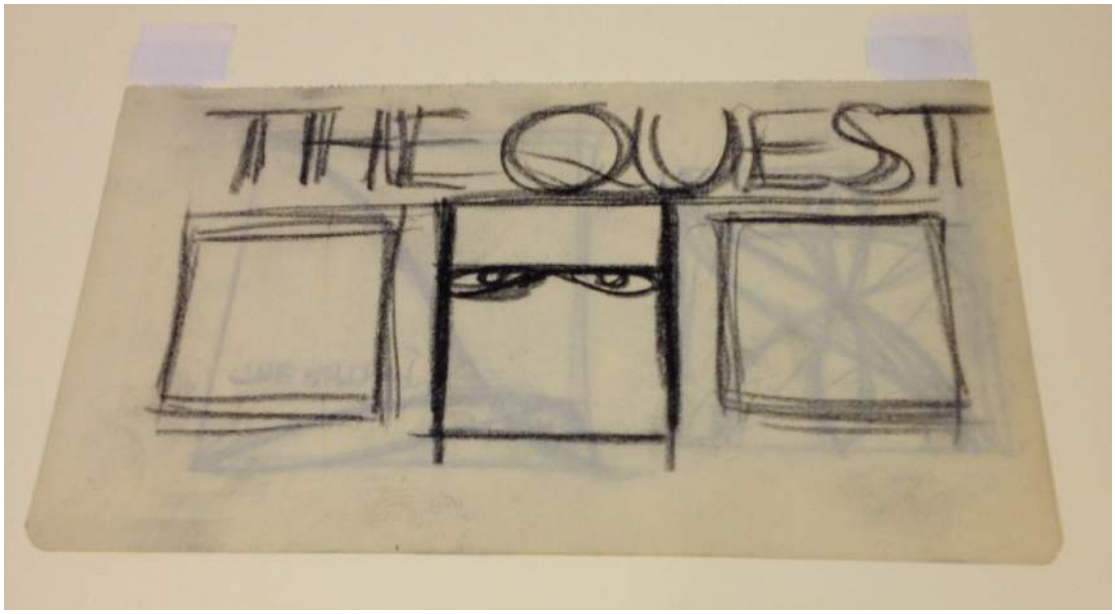


Figure 17: draft drawing for *The Quest* / *Rhythm* (1911), by J. D. Fergusson (Perth archives)

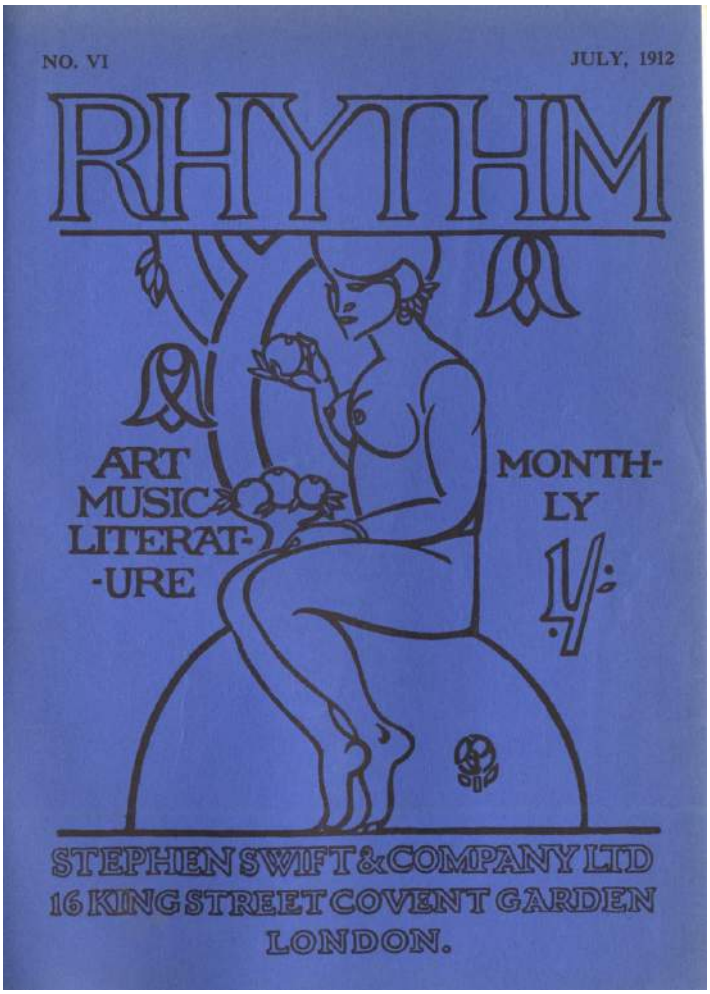


Figure 18: *Rhythm*, cover design by J. D. Fergusson

Figure 19: Anne Estelle Rice, ‘Drawing’ in *Rhythm*, 4 (Spring 1911), p. 3

Figure 20: Anne Estelle Rice, ‘Drawing’ in *Rhythm*, 10 (Nov. 1912), p. 263

SCHÉHÉRAZADE. BY ANNE ESTELLE RICE

Figure 21: Anne Estelle Rice, ‘Schéhérazade’ in *Rhythm*, 1 (Summer 1911), p. 15

Inspired by the Ballets Russes production of *Schéhérazade* in Paris, 1910

Figure 22: Anne Estelle Rice, ‘Drawing’ in *Rhythm*, 2 (Autumn 1911), p. 22

Figure 23: Anne Estelle Rice, ‘Drawing’ in *Rhythm*, 3 (Winter 1911), p. 4

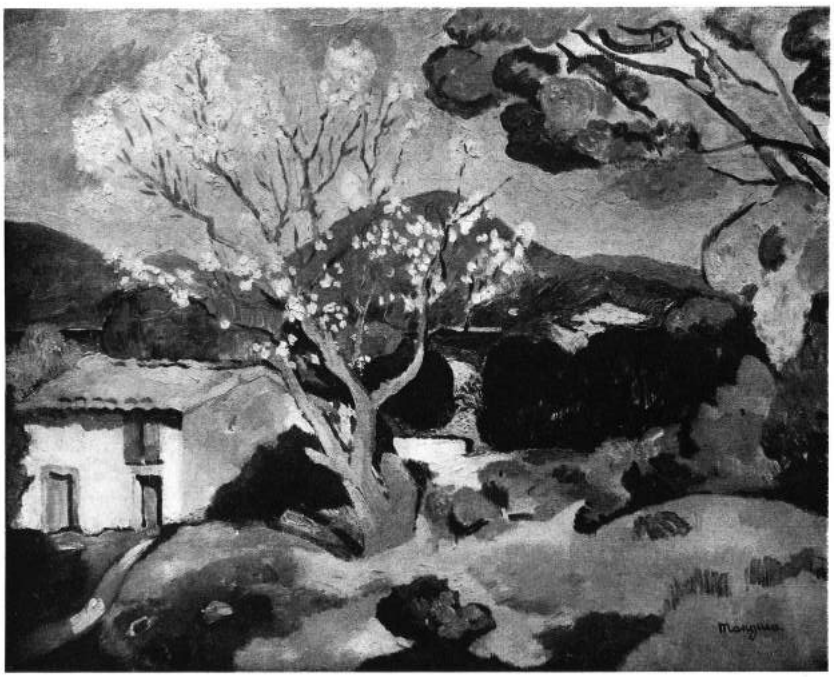
THOMPSON

THE WOMAN AT THE STORE

All that day the heat was terrible. The wind blew close to the ground —it rooted among the tussock grass—slithered along the road, so that the white pumice dust swirled in our faces—settled and sifted over us and was like a dry-skin itching for growth on our bodies. The horses stumbled along, coughing and chuffing. The pack horse was sick—with a big, open sore rubbed under the belly. Now and again she stopped short, threw back her head, looked at us as though she were going to cry, and whinnied. Hundreds of larks shrilled—the sky was slate colour, and the sound of the larks reminded me of slate pencils scraping over its surface. There was nothing to be seen but wave after wave of tussock grass—patched with purple orchids and manuka bushes covered with thick spider webs.

Jo rode ahead. He wore a blue galatea shirt, corduroy trousers and riding boots. A white handkerchief, spotted with red—it looked as though his nose had been bleeding on it—knotted round his throat. Wisps of white hair straggled from under his wideawake—his moustache and eyebrows were called white—he slouched in the saddle—grunting. Not once that day had he sung "I don't care, for don't you see, my wife's mother was in front of me!" . . . It was the first day we had been without it for a month, and now there seemed something uncanny in his silence. He rode ahead of me—white as a clown, his black eyes glittered, and he kept shooting out his tongue and moistening his lips. He was dressed in a Jaeger vest—a pair of blue duck trousers, fastened round the waist with a plaited leather belt. We had hardly spoken since dawn. At noon we had lunched off fly biscuits and apricots by the side of a swampy creek.

Figure 24: Margaret Thompson, 'Drawing' in *Rhythm*, 4 (Spring 1912), p. 7



LANDSCAPE HENRI MANGUIN

Figure 25: Henri Manguin, 'Landscape' in *Rhythm*, 4 (Spring 1912), p. 9

Figure 26: Lionel Halpert, ‘Study’ in *Rhythm*, 4 (Spring 1912), p. 15

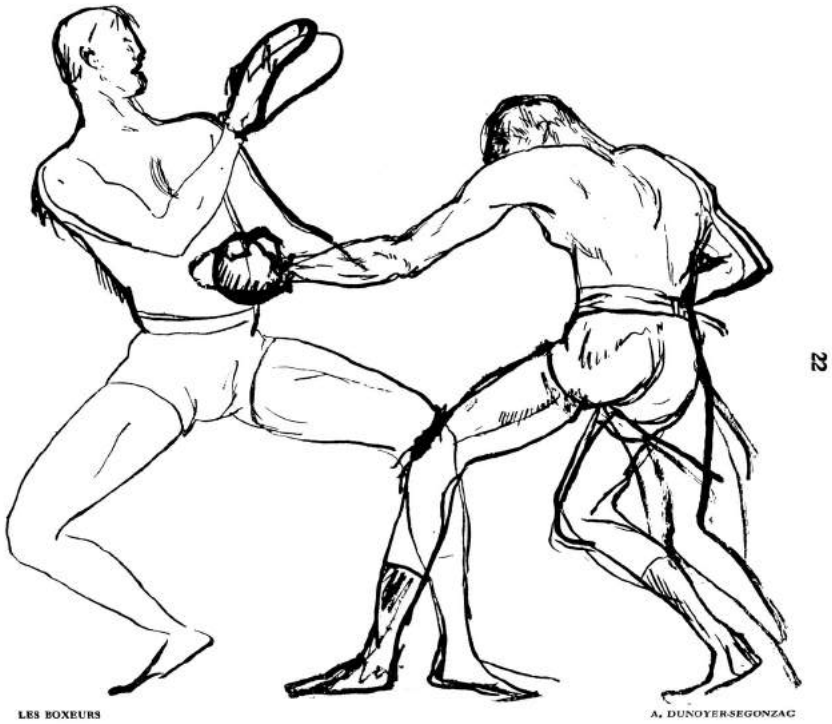


Figure 27: André Dunoyer de Segonzac, ‘Les Boxeurs’ in *Rhythm*, 4 (Spring 1912), p. 22

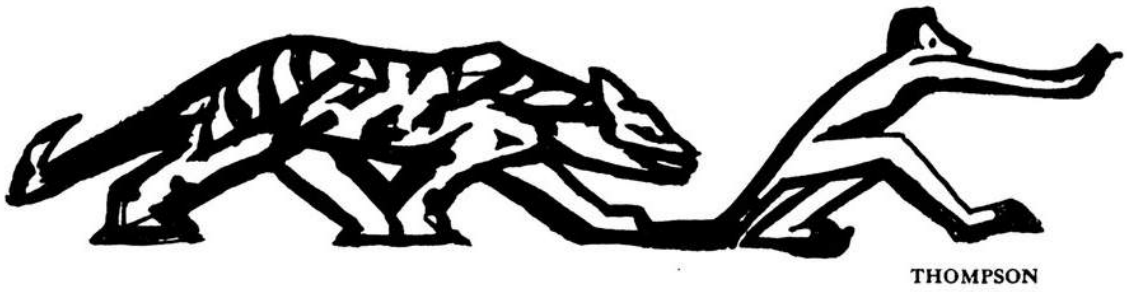


Figure 28: Margaret Thompson, in *Rhythm*, 1 (Summer 1911), p. 12

Figure 29: The ‘Two Tigers’ (1913)

Figure 30: Dorothy ‘Georges’ Banks, ‘Caricature of Katherine Mansfield’ in *Rhythm*, 9 (Oct. 1912), p. 193

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THE ATHENÆUM

A JOURNAL OF SCIENCE AND LITERATURE, THE ARTS

CONTENTS

ICHABODINGS

IF we confess that there have been moments when we were more than a trifle pessimistic about the condition of the arts in England, is because those moments are no more. The reading of Sir Reginald Blomfield's recent lecture to the British Academy has dispatched them for good and all. Remove the straw, take the muffler from the knocker and show a glad face at the window, for art can be neither dead nor dying nor moribund while it provokes Sir Reginald's leonine thunder.

"One had hoped," said the distinguished lecturer, "that the grip of reality brought about by the war would have cleared this rubbish [that is, all painting, sculpture, and architecture not by Royal Academicians] away; but at present the last state of this man is worse than the first. The seven devils have entered in and rallied their forces for a final attack on our sanity." Let us not linger over the richly metaphorical nature of the conception; let us pass lightly, or we shall find ourselves faced by the nice question as to whether we have gripped reality or reality has gripped us, for Sir Reginald, in the fever of his indignation, has had no architectonics to spare for his prose style. Art has gone to the devil, to seven of them. Such is the contagion of his sternly prophetic manner that we find ourselves crying Ichabod. Who indeed could help crying Ichabod after reading *épater le bourgeois* and *hinc illæ lacrimæ* in two consecutive lines? But let that pass. We turn to examine our conscience, for we—that is, the critics—if we are not the devils themselves, are responsible for letting them in. On this point Sir Reginald feels no shadow of doubt whatever; we are the "bawling Cleons" who have debased British art. All was well in Eden until the first modern art-critic was born. But now things are come to such a pass that "one may well ask [says Sir Reginald] 'Am I off my head, or is the man who tells me this?' It is time that a halt was made in this race for the lunatic asylum. *Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis* will art advance." And those treacherous defenders include not merely the gentlemen with positive views and a talent for expressing them who explain the mysteries of art to you, dear reader—not merely those, but all critics. The painful history reminds us of Stacy Marks's little rhyme:

> I paints and paints,
> Hears no complaints,
> And sells before it's dry;
> When savage Ruskin
> Sticks his tusk in,
> And nobody will buy.

The difference is that all critics nowadays are Ruskins.

But, tempted though we are to bow to Sir Reginald's authority and to believe in our own omnipotence, the facts are against him. Has he forgotten that work of a Royal Academy artist—that pretty little thing in granite with marble trimmings which is called the Nurse Cavell monument? We critics declared with a single voice that it was intolerable. Was it removed? Was it covered with a veil? Alas! our royal writ did not run to the top of Chandos Street. We are glad to remind Sir Reginald of the incident; he will find in it matter for consolation, matter for hope. In a vision we see him, standing in Trafalgar Square, in the congenial shadow of a Nelson lion, gazing at this triumphant example of the undefiled tradition, and murmuring with confidence and pride: "This is one of the great achievements of British art against which the gates of Hell, aye, and the seven devils, were unable to prevail."

Figure 31: *The Athenaeum* (1920)

Figure 32: Mansfield and Murry (c. 1920)

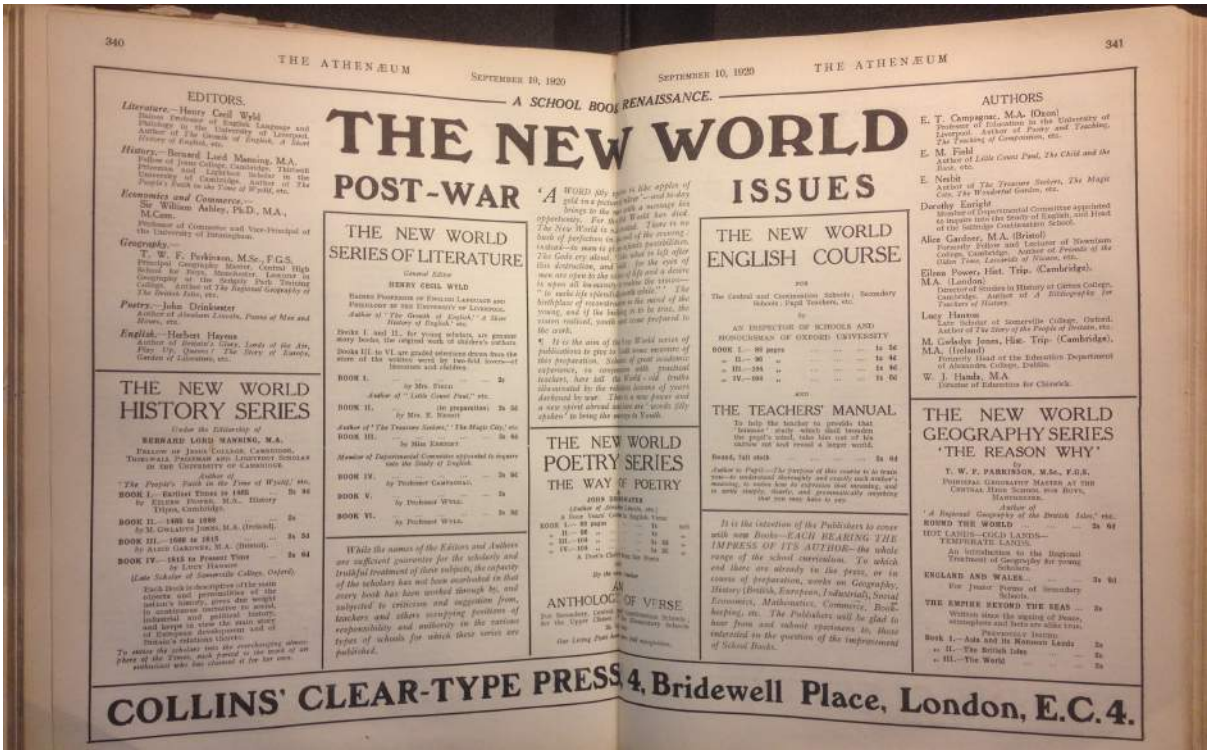

Figure 33: 'The New World' in *The Athenaeum*, 4715 (Sept. 10, 1920), pp. 340-1

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The Adelphi

1/-  1/-

EDITED BY JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

Figure 34: *The Adelphi* (1925)

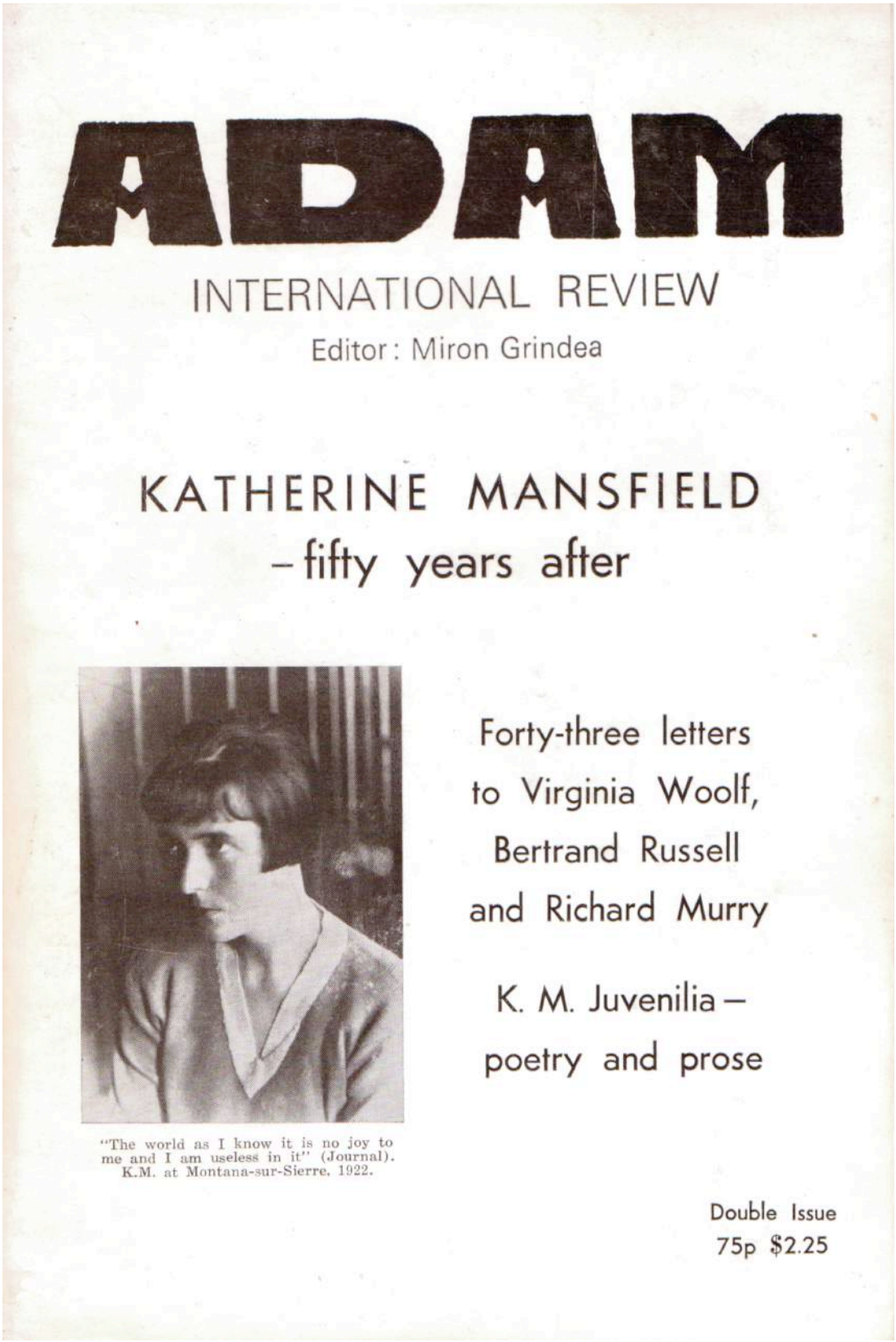

Figure 35: *Adam International Review*, 'Katherine Mansfield – fifty years after' (1973)